THE STORY OF W. J. E. BENNETT

AND OF HIS PART IN THE OXFORD CHURCH MOVEMENT OF THE NINETEENTH CENTURY

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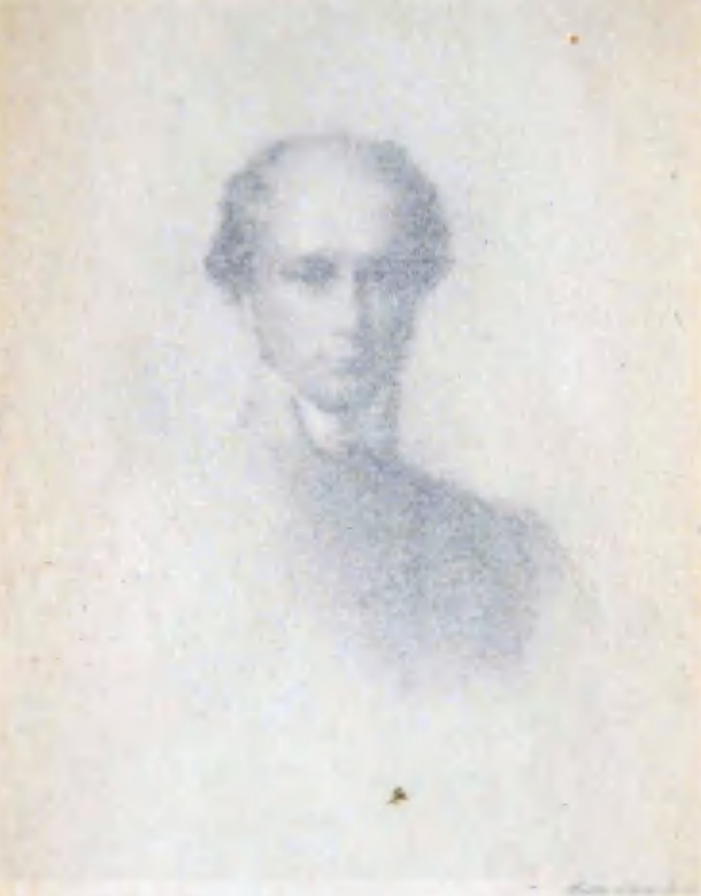

D. J. Pease

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PREFACE

THE story of William Bennett—Perpetual Curate of S. Paul's, Knightsbridge; Founder of S. Barnabas', Pimlico; Vicar of Froome—is an essential part of the story of the Oxford Movement. As one of the most energetic restorers of the paths, one of the first to see that the doctrines of the Faith must be set forth by the ceremonial of the Church, one engaged in a lifelong struggle to free the Church from the tyranny of the State, one of the most prominent of those whose work it was to carry the teachings of the Oxford leaders into the practical daily life of men, his life is a factor which is not to be neglected in the history of the Church of England during the nineteenth century.

As early as 1849 an opponent described him as "the most distinguished Tractarian in London." Still more in 1850 and 1851 was he the prominent figure of the advance—"a pioneer," as Dr. Littledale said to a friend of them both, "blasting the rocks and levelling the road"—"A master-builder of the Church," says Mr. Cosby White. He was assuredly *felix opportunitate*. His life synchronized with the success of the Movement. His position among the early workers was unique. To no man was given a greater

chance than was given to him when he became Incumbent of S. Paul's, Knightsbridge, and had the wealthiest, most powerful congregation in England. No man could have used the chance more vigorously. The moment when S. Barnabas' was built was the very moment when it had become needful that the ideals of the Movement should be clearly, and on a conspicuous scale, set before the eyes of men—the second act of the drama must begin. With the building and consecration of S. Barnabas' it began with all its power. Mr. Bennett was great as preacher, catechist, and organizer. As a writer of pamphlets setting forth the Catholic Faith and its claims in popular, telling language, his energy was inexhaustible. The greater leaders—Keble, Newman, R. H. Froude, Pusey—appealed to the intellectual portion of the Church; Mr. Bennett preached to the fashionable and to the poor; to the powerful and the degraded alike. He spoke out full plainly to the grandees of the land. He preached the gospel to the wretched. Twice round him the battle raged—at S. Barnabas', when he taught us the lesson not to rely on the great ones of the earth; and at Froome, when, prosecuted by the Church Association, he put before us the truth that the Church has the inalienable right and duty to rule herself without the interference of the State.

Yet one little apology is needed for printing the story of his life—in that he himself disliked memoirs, thinking them too often sentimental and unreal. In this Life of him this objection shall be avoided. His printed opinions, his public actions, will be the chief

source, the chief subject, of our history. It will be a simple account of what he did, what he said, and what he wrote, and to this, as being a record of what is already public property, it would seem that he could have had no possible objection.

The writer has to thank the following persons who have kindly contributed reminiscences or appreciations, or have replied to his letters of inquiry on various points :—

The Rt. Hon. the Earl Nelson.

The Rev. J. Hampton, Warden of S. Michael's College, Tenbury, Precentor of Hereford.

The Rev. Prebendary Linklater, D.D., Vicar of Holy Trinity, Stroud Green.

The Hon. and Rev. A. F. A. Hanbury-Tracy, Vicar of S. Barnabas', Pimlico, formerly Vicar of Froome.

The Rev. A. G. Mortimer, D.D., Incumbent of S. Mark's, Philadelphia.

The Rev. T. H. Compton, formerly Vicar of S. Katharine's, Woodlands, near Froome; and Mrs. Compton.

The Rev. Father Benson, of Cowley.

The Rev. G. Cosby White, formerly Vicar of S. Barnabas', Pimlico.

The Very Rev. the Dean of Westminster.

The Very Rev. the Dean of Christ Church, Oxford.

The Rev. the Head Master of Westminster School.

Mr. A. P. Waterfield and Mr. K. R. H. Jones, successive Captains of Westminster School, for records of rowing at the School in Mr. Bennett's time, and other information.

The Rev. W. E. Sherwood, Vicar of Sandford, for remarks on rowing at Oxford in Mr. Bennett's time.

Miss Maria Albin Baily, formerly of Froome, now of The Hall, Glastonbury.

Miss Leeds, formerly one of Mr. Bennett's helpers at Froome.

Miss Plowden, a lifelong friend of Mr. Bennett.

Miss Louisa Morgan, formerly one of Mr. Bennett's household at Froome.

And many other persons.

The late Rev. F. Farrer, son-in-law to Mr. Bennett, contributed some delightful personal recollections.

The writer has also consulted the *Guardian*, the *Church Times*, the *Illustrated London News*, the *Times*, the *Somerset and Wilts Journal*, *Punch*, and other newspapers from the time when Mr. Bennett's doings began to be publicly recorded. The amount of matter relating to Mr. Bennett in the various newspapers is indeed enormous, but too often needs verification.

The history of the House of Commons debates relating to the appointment to Froome has been recorded from Hansard.

The writer has gleaned a few facts from Denison's "Notes of My Life"; the Lives of Skinner and

Lowder; from Mozley, Overton, Leach, and the late Mr. Wakeling's amusing "Recollections of the Oxford Church Movement," and many other books on that subject, the literature of which is, of course, immense.

He has also to thank the Rev. G. H. Palmer for most kindly revising the account of Church music as it was, and of the revival of better things at S. Barnabas' and elsewhere.

CONTENTS

CHAPTER I

SCHOOL AND OXFORD DAYS

PAGE

Birth—Descent—Traces of his character in his ancestors—Great-grandfather Bennett—Mother—Great-grandfather Early—Westminster School, 1816—K.S., 1818—Present at two coronations—Portraits of him as a boy, by his cousin—Actor in two Westminster plays, 1821, 1822—Captain of School, 1822 to 1823—In the boat—"Elected head to Christ Church," Oxford, 1823—At Oxford, 1823 to 1826—His contemporaries there—The then position of the future leaders at Oxford—G. A. Denison—Degrees, 1827 and 1829 1

CHAPTER II

CURACIES—THE CHOLERA—STATE OF THE CHURCH—SUNDAY

"Usher" at Westminster School—Ordained Deacon, 1828—Ordained Priest, 1830—Marriage—Curacies: Oxford Chapel; Holy Trinity, "St. Mary-le-bone"; History of his work in the Cholera, 1832, 1849; "Sins of the Church and People"; "God's Judgment in the Pestilence"; Sermon on the Patriotic Fund; the lesson drawn. All Souls, Langham Place, 1833–1838. Minister of Portman Chapel, 1836–1843—Description of him by his brother in 1838—Description of the then state of things in churches, from Mr. Bennett's own writings—His attack on the desecration of Sunday 11

CHAPTER III

S. PAUL'S, KNIGHTSBRIDGE

PAGE

1843: Consecration of S. Paul's—The original parish and the district of S. Paul's—What the new parish was, as to riches and poverty—It was expected he would be made a bishop—Brief continuation of the story of the Movement, 1833 to 1843—Gradual advance of the leaders towards the light—1835: "The Eucharist"—1842: "Guide to the Holy Eucharist"—His own account of his progress, and description of the fortunes of the Movement—1842: The Bishop's Charge, its effect on him—S. Paul's to be the trial ground of the principles of the Charge—Programme of services in 1846—1848: "FIVE SEPARATE SERVICES!"—Accusation of Romanizing—"Soft words"—Mr. Chirol 28

CHAPTER IV

THE IDEA AND BUILDING OF S. BARNABAS', PIMLICO

The slums of Pimlico—Contrasts—Mr. Bennett's appeal for funds—The church to be from free gifts—The church to be free for all—How the money might be provided by different classes—June 11, 1846: The foundation stone of the school laid—June 11, 1847: Foundation stone of the church laid—Gifts of ornaments, etc.—Plan of the building—Bishop allows all that is asked, except flowers! 46

CHAPTER V

CONSECRATION OF S. BARNABAS'

Tuesday, June 11, 1850—The procession described by an eye-witness—The service—Sermons: Manning; W. Sewell; Francis Paget; Keble; Hy. Wilberforce; C. E. Kennaway; Dr. J. M. Neale; F. H. Bennett; W. J. E. Bennett; W. Gresley; R. Eden; W. Upton Richards; Dr. W. H. Mill; Dr. Pusey—Length of these sermons—Mr. Bennett's reminiscences of the Octave 61

CHAPTER VI

SUNSHINE ENDING IN STORM

PAGE

The bright hopes of the early days—The beginning of troubles—Attitude of the Bishop—Complaints innumerable—An amusing specimen—Prayers for the dead—Gorham for a week stops the works at S. Barnabas'—Fresh accusations—The fatal pledge—Three months' delusive peace—A new letter from the Bishop—Oct. 30: the second pledge to resign—Nov. 2: Bishop's Charge—The Sisterhood—The remainder of the story—Dec. 4: Definite resignation—A very queer transaction—Resignation accepted 81

CHAPTER VII

THE RIOTS AT S. BARNABAS'

Nov. 3: Mr. Bennett's prophecies—The inwardness of the outcry exposed—Nov. 4: The first prophecy fulfilled—The Durham letter—Nov. 9: The Lord Mayor's feast; *Politic* speeches; Guildhall nonsense—The letter to the Prime Minister; description of the riots—Nov. 10: The second prophecy fulfilled; Commencement of the riots—Nov. 17—Dec. 5: Lord Ashley—*Punch*—Street inscriptions—Nov. 24: "The Triumph of Charity"—Dec. 1: First Sunday in Advent—Dec. 8: The climax; The sermon that saved the church from being wrecked 97

CHAPTER VIII

NOTHING WITHOUT THE BISHOP—THE DEPARTURE—SUBSEQUENT HISTORY OF S. BARNABAS'—MUSIC OF THE DAY

Mr. Bennett's resignation criticized at the time—Efforts of parishioners to retain him—"The rivet that binds the resignation"—Farewell sermons—March 23: The last sermon—Leave-taking and protests, March 24—The deputation of the poor, refused by the Bishop—The last service, March 25—The *spolia opima*—Subsequent history of S. Barnabas': Riots continued. Dispute about ritual: with Bishop; Westerton *v.* Liddell; March 21, 1857. Successive curates and incumbents of S. Barnabas'—Church music as it was—Hymns of "the good old days"!—The reform—Revival of plain-song 122

CHAPTER IX

TRAVELS ABROAD—FROOME—MR. HORSMAN

PAGE

Mr. Bennett, ill, goes abroad with Sir J. Harington—Flanders; Aschaffenburg; Kissingen; Vienna; impressions—The Stelvio Pass; Venice—Mr. Greville's speculations about him—Offer of Froome—Lady Bath—Protests made against appointment—Mr. Horsman in the House of Commons—Asks for an inquiry by her Majesty: defeated—The letter of a "professor"—The "Bill of Rights" endangered!—Mr. Horsman asks for a Select Committee, and gets it—Finds himself a committee of ONE—The second letter to Lord John Russell 153

CHAPTER X

FROOME—RESTORATION—SERVICES—ORGANIZATION—FINANCES

Froome a "hive of schism" then—I. Restoration of church: Previous improvements. Progress; First "Octave," 1856. Service on the top of the spire. Brief description now—II. Ritual: Mr. Bennett's argument for it, but against rigid uniformity. Brief history of the restoration of ritual. By others. Ritual at Portman Chapel; His golden rule of explanation first. At S. Paul's, Knightsbridge. At S. Barnabas'; The neighbouring dinner-bell. At Froome. State of things. Bishop Sparrow's advice carried out, as to the hour of Celebration. Ritual of Baptism. Octaves—III. Organization: Mr. Carter, of Clewer, on this. At S. Paul's. At S. Barnabas'; Organization during the cholera. At Froome: Districts; Schools; "The College"; *The Old Church Porch*, a precursor of parochial magazines; Societies, classes, etc.; Missions. Helpers. Curates at S. Barnabas'. Curates at Froome—IV. Finances: At S. Barnabas'; At Froome. (1) Of church restoration; (2) Of current expenses. Abolition of Church rates, and of pew rents. All offerings "laid on the Lord's Table" 177

CHAPTER XI

TWO PROSECUTIONS

Mr. Bennett teaches us that *doctrine* is not for secular Courts—Prosecution of Archdeacon Denison—Protests against the judgment at Bath—"Examination of Archdeacon Denison's

PAGE

Propositions"—Denison's opinion of the Courts—Prosecution of Mr. Bennett—Hasty writing—History of the suit—The judgment: excellent principles laid down as to its duties, by the Privy Council Committee—Decision for Mr. Bennett—Mr. Bennett disregards the Citation entirely—Review of his opinions on the Courts—Publications on the subject—The great snowstorm—Mr. Bennett's prayers that the truth might be vindicated—The Octave following—He objects to being called "The Respondent" 215

CHAPTER XII

CHARACTERISTICS—OPINIONS—TEACHINGS—ANECDOTES AND EVENTS

Characteristics: Courage, physical and moral; Energy; Firmness; Charitable judgment; Ready to help; Liberality in money, the Italian; Handwriting; Abstemiousness; Powers of conversation; Humour, the objector at S. Barnabas'; Dignity; Respected, the story of the eggs; Temper; Appearance; Eyes, hypnotic power—Opinions and Teachings: Roman Church in England and English Church abroad; Dissent and Dissenters; The "Establishment"; The "Royal Supremacy"; Politics; *Our* "Grand Old Man!"; Religious education; Convocation; Marriage, of divorced persons, with a sister-in-law; Liberality of opinion about others; The Dean of Chichester, Mr. Carter, Lord Nelson on his Churchmanship—Anecdotes and Events: Effort to "present" ill livers; Archdeacon Denison's sermon at Froome, 1874; "This is my text and this is my sermon!"; The chimneys case; Faculties; The Duke of Wellington 232

CHAPTER XIII

PREACHER—CATECHIZER—WRITER

Manuscript sermons—His curious MSS.—Delivery—"I have a message to thee"—Sermons at the London Mission, 1869—Catechizing: At S. Barnabas'; His manuscript book of questions—The same at Froome; Special catechizings—Writings, list of—Absence of allusion to Evolution and to Higher Criticism—Lighter literature: Mrs. Sidney Lear—The *Parish Choir*—The *Theologian* 265

CHAPTER XIV

RELATIVES—LAST DAYS—MEMORIALS

PAGE

Domestic losses—Father and mother—Children: Mrs. Farrer; William Henry Bennett; Augusta—Descendants—Wife—Relatives: Brother, George Augustus Bennett; Brother, Frederick Hamilton Bennett; His work at S. John's, Worcester; At Freeland; Anecdotes of Mr. F. H. Bennett's experience; How he was jockeyed out of a living—Cousins: George Renaud; William Renaud—Last days—Wishes as to memorials—Record in the Westminster Prologue, 1886—"*Cedendo victor*" 281

APPENDIX

Two specimens of his notes on the Catechism: I. On Catechizing; II. On Sunday 295

INDEX 301

CHAPTER I

SCHOOL AND OXFORD DAYS

Birth.
Descent.
Traces of his character in his ancestors.
Great-grandfather Bennett.
Mother.
Great-grandfather Early.
Westminster School, 1816.
K.S., 1818.
Present at two coronations.
Portraits of him as a boy, by his cousin.
Actor in two Westminster plays, 1821, 1822.
Captain of School, 1822 to 1823.
In the boat.
"Elected head to Christ Church," Oxford, 1823.
At Oxford, 1823 to 1826.
His contemporaries there.
The then position of the future leaders at Oxford.
G. A. Denison.
Degrees, 1827 and 1829.

WILLIAM JAMES EARLY BENNETT was born at Halifax, Nova Scotia, on the 15th of November, 1804. His father was William Bennett, Major in the corps of Royal Engineers, and his mother, Mary, daughter of James Early, also an officer in the army. William was their eldest son; his mother being but nineteen at the time of his birth, and his father twenty-two.

The real interest in the ancestry of any one who has become in any degree noticeable is to find in the forefathers the traces of those characteristics the development of which have produced the prominence of the descendant, an inquiry which is becoming something of an exact science. Mr. Bennett's father died of consumption at the age of thirty-seven, and very little

has been recorded about him or about Mr. Bennett's grandfather, George Augustus Bennett, who was in the Royal Marines. But his great-grandfather, another William Bennett, attained the rank of Admiral, and his portrait, painted by Thomas Lawrenson, an Irish portrait-painter famous in his day, has been preserved. In the lines of that picture, and especially in the firm mouth, may be discerned the resolution and decision which distinguished Mr. Bennett. The same characteristics may be seen in the Admiral's letters (two volumes of which are preserved in the Record Office), both in their contents and their handwriting. Both Mr. Bennett and his ancestor were of the type which "nails its colours to the mast." In one of his letters the Admiral relates that he met a French frigate which failed to salute the English flag. On this he promptly "cleared for action," which the Frenchman perceiving proffered the usual courtesy. We feel sure that Mr. Bennett would have done the same as his ancestor.

Beyond the Admiral, who ran away with a girl from school, and was in consequence disowned by his relatives, there is at present no certain trace of the family.

It is, however, probable that Mr. Bennett derived his character largely from his mother, who must have had a reputation for firmness or obstinacy, since her children were wont, in their playful letters, to call her "old mules." She was very handsome, stately, somewhat brunette, with very dark hair and eyes. She had an acquaintance with Byron and Moore, of which she was proud, and would describe the latter singing

his Irish melodies to his own accompaniment. She was a great reader, and could converse in Portuguese and Italian as well as French, and could even, what is unusual in England, appreciate the poetry of Camoëns. It was no doubt from her that Mr. Bennett inherited, not only his striking personal appearance, but some of his firmness and of the vigorous powers of his mind.

It is a tradition in the family that her grandfather, Early, a farmer of Datchet, near Windsor, was so greatly in favour with "Farmer George" that his Majesty was often graciously pleased to walk round his farm with him and discuss the cattle and the crops.

There are no records of the childhood of Mr. Bennett further than that he displayed at that age a vigour of temper which frequently necessitated seclusion in a dark room before it could be conquered. His brother, G. A. Bennett, writing in 1838 to their mother, says, "His children have such tempers as I have heard you say Will himself had when a child."

In 1816 he was admitted at the age of twelve to Westminster School, and must have applied himself to his work with energy, for in 1818 he was made a King's Scholar. The head master was then William Page, who was succeeded in 1819 by Dr. Goodenough. As a King's Scholar, Bennett was present at the Coronation of George IV., in 1821, and he was also present on September 8, 1831, when William IV. was crowned. He was then Curate of Holy Trinity, St. Marylebone.

There are several portraits of him as a Westminster schoolboy, painted by his first cousin, W. H.

Watts, who was secretary to Canning. Watts used often to take him to the theatre in his Westminster days, but Mr. Bennett had to regret the fact that his cousin was quite an unbeliever.

Both in 1821 and in 1822 Bennett took part in the Westminster play. In the former year he had the part of Charinus in Terence's play of *Andria*. Robert Eden, afterwards Bishop of Moray and Ross, and Primus of Scotland, had the character of Davus. The two friends were destined to meet afterwards on a wider stage, and a more important one, when Eden was one of the preachers in the Consecration Octave of the Church of S. Barnabas.

From May, 1822, to May, 1823, Bennett was Captain of the School, and as captain delivered the prologue of the play. Its main topic was the centenary of the dormitory, in which the play was then, and is still, acted. This time the play was the *Eunuchus*, of Terence, and to Bennett was assigned the part of Chremes, Robert Eden being Thraso. The part of Chremes in the *Eunuchus* is not so important as that of Charinus in the *Andria*, and it may be conjectured that the display of his powers of acting on the former occasion was not so striking as to entitle him to a leading part in the performance of 1822. Though destined to be accused of "histrionics" by a Bishop, and by *Punch*, those who knew him in after life will not be surprised to hear that his genius lay not in "play-acting" but in the serious business of life. Mr. Bennett's name is, or was recently, visible, printed on the wall of the dormitory.

In these days of glorified athletics we are naturally curious to know what were the athletics of Westminster when Bennett was captain, and what part he took in them. The "Water Ledger" of Westminster School is the earliest record of public school boat-racing which exists, and it commences in 1813. The following account derived from it throws a light on the rowing at a public school in the early part of the nineteenth century, and will interest old Westminsters.

"Bennett was in the boat for at least one year. In 1822–3 the crew of the *Victory*, the first Westminster eight, launched in 1819, consisted of, among others, No. 7, W. Bennett, who took the place of T. Knight, compelled to resign his seat through illness.

"This boat came down from Kew in one hour and ten minutes, there being a tremendous thunderstorm. It rained hard the whole way, and there was a strong wind against them. Then from Putney to the Stairs, against tide, in forty-seven minutes.

"This year, 1823, a new six-oared boat was built, and the name of *Queen Bess* was given to her in honour of our illustrious foundress.

"Bennett was not included in the crew at first, but he took part as No. 5, in a good performance on May 1, 1823, when the boat started from the Horse Ferry, opposite to Lambeth Palace, at half-past five in the morning, and reached Chertsey Bridge by three o'clock. On their way back they dined at Walton, and again reached the Horse Ferry by a quarter before nine. The first of May being a holiday explains this unusually long row."

A little incident in the history of the *Victory* is worth recording.

"On the fifteenth of July, 1822, as the boat was coming up from Greenwich it ran down a skiff with four 'skies,' *i.e.*

roughs, in it. They had purposely got in the way. Being abused by a spectator professing to be an old Westminster, the rowers retorted. The consequence was that the boat's crew were shown up next day to Dr. Goodenough by the spectator, who proved to be the doctor's intimate friend, and were kept off the river for the rest of the season."

If the future founder of S. Barnabas' took part in this wordy war it would seem that something yet remained of the fiery temper of childhood!

There was apparently no race against other crews in the year during which Bennett was in the boat, indeed it was not till 1829 that the first race was rowed with Eton, but in 1821 Westminster had given the Eagle, one of the leading clubs on the London river, a sound beating, and Dean Freemantle says that the Westminster boys had at that time the best boat on the river. To be in the boat, therefore, at that time seems to imply that Bennett was a really good oar.

The racing boats of those days were enormous compared with those of the present time. Canon Ellison, who in 1831 was in the crew, describes the boat of that year as a regular man-of-war's gig. The exertion of pulling this heavy boat in the shallow waters of the upper stream was so severe a tax on the muscles that Ellison had to carry his arms in slings for several days after the race with Eton. The contemporary pictures of racing boats fully bear out this description.

Of Bennett's taking part in any other sports at Westminster there is no trace. Football had not

become then the important game which it is now. It was little played, and merely as a "scratch game." Thus there is no record of it. Nor is there any mention of his having distinguished himself at cricket, and it is probable that, like other oarsmen, he had no time to spare from the river.

It does not appear that Mr. Bennett continued to row at Oxford. His college, Christ Church, was at the head of the river in 1825, but he was not in the boat. It is said that Oxford rowing men in those days had, curiously enough, a bad reputation, and in consequence many men who had rowed at school dropped it on coming to Oxford. William Gresley, Mr. Bennett's friend, took this course when he went up from Westminster to Christ Church. Gresley's hero, in his "Portrait of an English Churchman," seems to allude to this, and to say that it prevented him from rowing. Nevertheless, Canon Carter, of Clewer, rowed in the Christ Church "torpid" of 1827, so that the rule, if it was one, was not without its exceptions.

At that time the Dean of Christ Church used to choose at least three Westminster scholars as students of Christ Church, and in 1823 Bennett was "*elected head to Christ Church*," *i.e.* was chosen as the first of those selected by the Dean. At the same time were elected to Christ Church, F. F. Underwood, who had been a fellow actor in the plays; Cyril Page, who had rowed with him in the *Queen Bess*, was afterwards Perpetual Curate of Christ Church, Broadway, Westminster, and was much accused, along with his

quondam schoolfellow, of Popery; and lastly J. T. C. Fawcett, who had been Gnatho in the *Eunuchus*. Fawcett had afterwards the living of Kildwick, in Yorkshire, and died in 1867. Other old schoolfellows were with him at Christ Church. William Smythe, who had been Crito in the *Andria*, had been elected to Christ Church in 1822. Douglas Smith, eldest son of the witty canon, a fellow oarsman in the *Victory*, was likewise "elected head to Christ Church" in 1824. Hassard Hume Dodgson (Simo in the *Andria*) came also to Christ Church, and was Ireland Scholar in 1826. Lastly, Robert Eden, the future Primus, was elected as Scholar to Trinity College, Cambridge, but for some reason preferred to go to Christ Church as a commoner, and went up to Oxford at the same time as Mr. Bennett. William Gresley, afterwards one of his preachers in the S. Barnabas' Octave, was with him at Westminster, but, as he took his degree at Christ Church in 1823, must have been much his senior.

Mr. Bennett matriculated at Oxford, May 9, 1823, at the age of eighteen, and remained there till 1826. It will be interesting to briefly note in this place the mental position, at the time of his residence, of those Oxford men who were to be the chief performers in the greatest and most important religious drama of the nineteenth century. Although, according to Newman's era, the curtain was not to rise upon the first scene for ten years, most of the actors were there and earnestly, though unconsciously, preparing for their parts.

Keble, "the inspirer of the movement," had been Fellow of Oriel since 1811, but in the course of 1823 he left Oxford to be curate to his father at Coln S. Aldwyn, living at Fairford as his father did. He did not return to Oxford till appointed Professor of Poetry, so that it is extremely improbable that Mr. Bennett knew him personally during his undergraduate career. His friendship with Keble must have been of a much later date.

Newman, who as a boy had been trained to consider himself as converted and saved, still, in 1823, considered the Pope to be Antichrist. He became, in 1824, Curate of S. Clement's, a church visible from Magdalen Bridge. Its appearance from that point, and some odd details of its architecture, obtained for it from frivolous but witty undergraduates the nickname of "The boiled rabbit." Another year had yet to elapse before Newman, in 1825, took the first steps towards giving up the so-called Evangelicalism in which he had been brought up.

Pusey, destined to give one of its nicknames to the movement, was, in 1823, elected a Fellow of Oriel. At this time his mind was occupied with the theology of Germany, and he lived partly in Germany and partly at his country house in Berkshire.

Richard Hurrell Froude was, in 1823, still an undergraduate of Oriel, and was elected three years later, along with Robert Wilberforce, a Fellow of the college.

There is no reason to think that, during his Oxford career, Mr. Bennett was acquainted with any

of these future leaders, but George Anthony Denison had matriculated at Christ Church in 1822, and has told us in his memorial sermon that his friendship with Mr. Bennett began in their undergraduate days.

In many a battle for the faith they were destined to fight side by side. "We were together at Gorham," said Mr. Bennett to him at one of the Froome Octaves, recalling the battle for Baptismal Regeneration ; and, again, when Mr. Bennett defended the Archdeacon's "Propositions of Faith," they fought together for Eucharistic truth.

The future chiefs of the movement were then dimly and gradually feeling their way towards the light—*ex umbris et imaginibus ad veritatem;* the light, the truths which had been so long obscured by the semi-unbelief and semi-dissent which invaded the Church in the eighteenth century.

It is, perhaps, disappointing that Mr. Bennett's name does not occur in the honours lists, as his previous record would have led us to expect. There is a tradition in the family that he was ill and unable to present himself for the examination. At that period there was no distinction as now between Junior and Senior Students of Christ Church, but on taking his degree a Student remained on the foundation till he vacated his Studentship by marriage or by the acceptance of a college living. Thus the venerable Father Benson, of Cowley, remains still a "Student" of Christ Church.

Mr. Bennett took his B.A. degree in 1827 and his M.A. degree in 1829.

CHAPTER II

CURACIES—THE CHOLERA—STATE OF THE CHURCH—SUNDAY

"Usher" at Westminster School.
Ordained Deacon, 1828.
Ordained Priest, 1830.
Marriage.
Curacies—
  Oxford Chapel.
  Holy Trinity, "St. Mary-le-bone."
    History of his work in the Cholera, 1832, 1849.
    "Sins of the Church and People."
    "God's Judgment in the Pestilence."
    Sermon on the Patriotic Fund. The lesson drawn.
  All Souls, Langham Place, 1833–1838.
  Minister of Portman Chapel, 1836–1843.
Description of him by his brother in 1838.
Description of the then state of things in churches, from Mr. Bennett's own writings.
His attack on the desecration of Sunday.

Mr. Bennett's resolve to enter the ministry was a departure from the traditions of his family, for among his ancestors not a single cleric can be found. Perhaps his career was shaped by his election to a Studentship. A much larger proportion of those who were on the foundation of colleges took Holy Orders in those days than is at present the case, when few of the Fellows become clergymen.

At first, however, he went as "Usher" to his old school. The word implied at that time one of the assistant masterships, and this position he held from 1826 to 1828. He was ordained Deacon at the Chapel

Royal on March 2, 1828, by William Howley, then Bishop of London, and soon to be Archbishop of Canterbury. Mr. Bennett's "title" for ordination must have been his mastership, since he was not at that time licensed to any curacy.

On August 21 of the same year he was married to Mary Concetta Franklin. She was the daughter of Sir William Franklin, M.D., Kt. of the Hanoverian Order, "Principal Inspector-General of Army Hospitals," by his wife Concetta Tricanj, a Sicilian lady. After the death of Lady Franklin, Sir William resided in London with Mr. and Mrs. Bennett until his death in 1833. Mrs. Bennett is recorded to have sung extremely well, and it is a tradition in the family that, when on summer evenings the windows in Wilton Place were open, a crowd used to assemble in the street to listen to her singing.

It was not till June 6, 1830, that Mr. Bennett was ordained Priest. The ordination was at S. Paul's Cathedral, and the Bishop of London was now Blomfield, with whom we shall have a great deal to do in this history. Mr. Bennett was now licensed as curate to "Oxford Chapel," which has since received the name of S. Peter's, Vere Street. The "Minister" of the said chapel was the Rev. John Perceval, and, as Mr. Bennett's stipend was but £60 a year, it is probable that the tradition that at this time he took pupils is correct.

In August he removed to the more important curacy, Holy Trinity, St. Mary-le-bone (so he always writes the word), and before long he was face to face

with work of the most serious and terrible nature. The Asiatic Cholera had come.

Originating in Bengal as far back as 1817, this, according to the "Encyclopædia Britannica," "perhaps the most severe and fatal of all diseases," slowly and relentlessly pursued its way along the usual course, through Persia, Asia Minor, Russia, to the Northern and Central parts of Europe. It arrived at Sunderland in 1831 and broke out in London in January, 1832.

The outbreak was the occasion of Mr. Bennett's first publication—

"A sermon on the necessity of prayer, particularly at the present period of GOD'S visitation. Preached in Trinity Church, St. Mary-le-bone, Sunday, Feb. 26, 1832."

His subject is that of his text, "That men ought always to pray and not to faint." Better advice could not be given, even from a purely natural point of view. Probably of no epidemic is it more true that fear of the disease kills at least as many as the disease itself does, or predisposes to catch it. What better safeguard, then, than reliance on God, and how better gain that reliance than by prayer?

It will be conducive to clearness if we here continue and complete the story of the Cholera, and of Mr. Bennett's work with respect to it. It came again in 1849, following the same course. It was more deadly than before. Half the cases were fatal. Some clergy had fifty funerals of its victims in a week. In that year Mr. Bennett was Perpetual Curate of S. Paul's, Knightsbridge, and we may well give his own description of the outbreak—

"In the Autumn of that year, 1849, it pleased the Almighty to visit the Metropolis with a pestilence which carried to their graves thousands of our fellow-citizens; and in our own parish, and especially among the poor of S. Barnabas', there was a great mortality; the sickness and distress out-weighing even the actual deaths that occurred. I saw the distress and lamentation of the living, and no one could tell, even in the rudest health to-day, whether to-morrow he might not be a corpse."

It is interesting to note that Mr. Bennett's first cousin, Canon Renaud, then Curate of S. Thomas', Salisbury, was wont to give just the same sort of description of the terrible outbreak in that city: "When you shook hands with a man at night you did not know whether you or he or both would be dead before morning."

In this epidemic also, as before, Mr. Bennett urged prayer as one of the great means of helpfulness. He put forth a form of prayer for private use, and this, which contained prayers for the departed, was, as we shall see hereafter, a cause of trouble between him and his Bishop.

It is interesting to note here that in 1847 Mr. Bennett had pointed in a sermon on the Irish Famine, preached on the National Fast Day, to the "Sins of Church and People" as the cause of God's visitation. The sins for which we were punished by that awful famine were (he thought)—

"our pride and hardness of heart, our neglect of Ordinances (such as Daily Service, Holy Communion, Fasts and Festivals) and our strife and divisions."

So now in a similar strain of thought, in 1849, he

preached and published a sermon, in two parts, on "God's Judgment in the Pestilence," pointing to the cruelties of the poor law and to the ill-treatment of the children in the factories (which last were very terrible) as among our national sins. Once more he pointed out the sins of the time in 1854, in a sermon for the "Patriotic Fund," in the days of the Crimean War, speaking of our want of charity, excessive greed of gain, and the drunkenness and brutality of the lower orders. Thus Famine, Pestilence, and Sword had in these few years punished us, and in each case he drew the same lesson, God's anger at our national sins.

In the face of the terrible mortality of the Cholera he was hard at work in his parishes. Not content with the form of prayer which he had put forth, he obtained the permission of the Bishop to have the Litany daily, to appoint a day of Fasting and Humiliation in S. Paul's parish, and to use the Commination Service on that day. Accordingly he appointed Wednesday, September 19, for that purpose.

The work, too, was carried into the homes of the sufferers with the greatest self-devotion.

"During the Cholera of 1849, the clergy of S. Barnabas' might be found at all hours by the bedside of the sick and dying, not only administering the consolations of religion but also assisting in kind offices for the sick; giving them their medicines and incurring personal danger by rubbing their cold and cramped limbs, watching for hours by their pillows, and exhibiting those fruits of holiness which can only emanate from a pure love."

Such is the account of the work given by the

eye-witnesses in a letter refused by the *Times* but inserted in the *Morning Chronicle* in 1850, and with these words we may well close our narrative of Mr. Bennett's work in those fearful times of pestilence.

In 1833, the year memorable as Newman's era for the commencement of the Oxford Movement, Mr. Bennett changed his curacy from Holy Trinity to All Souls, Langham Place, that church whose queer spire terminating in nothing but a point gives the beholder such an uncomfortable feeling of being about to be impaled upon it. He continued there as Curate till 1838, but was in 1836 appointed Minister of Portman Chapel, now called S. Paul's, Portman Square. For two years, therefore, he held both appointments.

A letter from his brother, G. A. Bennett, to their mother at the Cape of Good Hope, describes him at this time. It is dated Naas, Ireland (where G. A. Bennett was engaged on the Ordnance Survey), February 17, 1838.

"Perhaps you will expect some account of the Norton Street folks, so I will give you one. William is very popular with all who know him, whilst his conduct as a clergyman has made him most highly esteemed by his parishioners and congregation. His evenings as well as mornings are all devoted to study and business. For the five weeks I was there we scarcely saw him in the drawing-room five times. The result of his solitary studies is, however, worthy of the sacrifice, for his sermons are certainly the best I have heard preached, and his impressive manner, quite apostolic, lends to his reasonings a powerful effect."

The difficulties encountered, the opposition from

bishops and mobs with which those who attempted to improve the services were met in the second and third quarters of the nineteenth century are to us in these days a matter of absolute wonderment. That a white surplice in the pulpit instead of a black gown should excite the feelings of a mob to a riot, as at S. Sidwell's, Exeter, and that the magistrates should take the side of the mob, is a thing now quite incomprehensible.

To understand, therefore, in a degree, the trouble which Mr. Bennett and others had in this part of their work, it is necessary to give here a picture in a few words of the state of things in the Church in the early part of the nineteenth century; and this is the more interesting because we are able to describe the then existing customs from Mr. Bennett's own voluminous writings, which have also the merit of being the words of a contemporary eye-witness of those things, of which he so justly complains.

Town churches were no doubt kept in pretty good material condition, but their arrangement was not that of a building intended for the worship of God, but for the worship of a sermon. Though a familiar sight of our boyhood to the elder among us, the then arrangement of such churches is now happily so rare that a description of it will show from what we have been delivered by the efforts of Mr. Bennett and other workers like him. In the midst of the church, and often exactly in front of the altar, stood a huge "three-decker." In the lowest platform sat the clerk, to whom was committed the task of making all responses,

and who also gave out the metrical psalm from "Tate and Brady," often chosen by himself, and often unsuitable. In the middle stage the prayers were preached more or less impressively to the people, and thus turned into "an oblique sermon." From the top of this erection a moral essay, excellently worded, was perhaps monotonously droned, as in Hogarth's picture, perhaps grandiloquently declaimed, according to the mental twist of the minister. The churches were "Sunday preaching houses, not houses of prayer!" Around this central object of admiration, and facing (so far as they possessed *any* direction) towards it, were placed private pews highly rented. They were often square with seats on every side. The poor sat anywhere or, more truly, nowhere. Huge galleries surrounded the church and blocked the windows. "Pit, boxes and gallery" described a church as accurately as a theatre, and contained "not so much a congregation as an audience."

In the country churches the state of things was even worse. Many of them had been white-washed internally by unusually energetic churchwardens in times past, but had now, owing to the neglect from which they had long suffered, become encrusted with patches of green mouldiness on walls and floor. Too often the rain came in through the roof. The squire entrenched himself in a lofty family pew, which sometimes contained a table and a fireplace and was sometimes so arranged in a gallery that if the doctrine delivered were not to his taste, or he felt disposed for a nap, he could close a window and thus shut out

all distasteful or disturbing sounds. The small deal table which did duty on rare occasions for an altar, and equally served as a desk on which to write the entries in the register—a matter, by the way, frequently neglected altogether—was covered with an ancient and faded piece of baize which in its better days had been green or red. The old fonts were not unfrequently made use of in the parson's garden as receptacles for flowers, while a small earthenware basin served for baptisms in the church. Holes in the floor sometimes caused an unintended bow or prostration to the altar. The whole place, full of discomfort and damp, was suggestive, and no doubt often productive, of rheumatism and catarrh.

Outside, the church was often half buried in the accumulated mould of centuries, which reached to the sill of the patched-up windows. The churchyard was full of tombstones leaning at various angles with the ground and seeming to bear traces of a recent earthquake. To this dilapidated condition of their churches all were so accustomed that no one was surprised nor shocked. A church decently arranged and cared for was highly to be suspected of Popery.

The services were such as suited these surroundings. The parson, habited in a dirty, ragged surplice, conducted a duet with the clerk, a duet with which no one interfered in any way. It seemed to be no business of any one else.

The congregations, Mr. Bennett tells us, did not condescend to pronounce a syllable of the psalms, during the recitation of which by the parson and

clerk they sat down and conversed amicably with one another. They did not even trouble to find the places in their Prayer-books, but "attended to the service with a lounging and non-chalant air." The more devout, but not more instructed, went to the opposite extreme and repeated even the Absolution after the clergyman, "thus absolving themselves." Kneeling was an obsolete practice, and most were contented with an attitude of squatting and bending forward.

If there was a crowded congregation to hear some fashionable preacher, the altar and the font, even at S. Paul's Cathedral, were used as receptacles for hats, cloaks and walking sticks. This irreverence, however, was not confined to the Church of England, and the writer has seen the same treatment, even of the Altar of Our Lady, in churches of the Roman schism!

The methods of conducting the services were in agreement with the general neglect. The Holy Communion was performed by a rector and curate, who lounged on two fat cushions on opposite sides of the "table," and appeared to be in agreeable conversation. Words which happened to be displeasing to their theological propensities were omitted. The Elements were administered to a "railful" at a time, the words, with the substitution of "you" and "yours" for "thee" and "thine," being said once for all. The Remainder was left to the clerk to wash out and dispose of as he pleased. Sometimes half a loaf is said to have been consecrated. Three Celebrations

a year was considered enough for a country place; one a month for a town parish. In not twenty churches in England was there a weekly Communion; not even in Westminster Abbey. If there was no actual Celebration, the first part of the Service for Holy Communion was read in the desk. The oblation of the element of wine consisted in drawing out from under the altar a black bottle which had been inserted into a pewter flagon.

Baptism, for which a fee was often illegally demanded, was treated in like manner. Prayers which expressed Regeneration were omitted. There was no assembly of the faithful into which the baby could be received; often there was no font, and probably in many cases no water even reached the child. If the infant of a grandee was to be christened, "this interesting ceremony" was performed at home, amid a select circle who afterwards "sat down to a *superb déjeûner*." When the Prince of Wales was baptized, the altar at Buckingham Palace was ornamented with a magnificent Communion Service of gold and with eight massive golden candlesticks. What these had to do with Baptism it puzzles the mind to conceive, but such was "Ritual," in A.D. 1841. At S. George's, Hanover Square, the "font" consisted of "a basin, which was drawn out by an ingenious piece of machinery, from—where does the reader think?—*from beneath the altar*, and the baptism took place within the Communion rails."

Of the Marriage Service two-thirds were often omitted. Half the Service was passed over at the

burial of a poor person, and the body was not carried into the church ; but if the deceased was a rich person, he was supposed to merit the whole ceremony.

Churchings were performed in the presence of the clerk only; sometimes in the vestry by the fire; occasionally in the lady's bedroom !

Bishops consecrated churches and ordained candidates to the ministry without any celebration of the Holy Communion. It is credibly recorded that on one occasion the candidates for the priesthood were examined by the chaplain in a cricket field between the innings !

Confirmations were held once in three years; the candidates were confirmed in rows at a time, the words being said once for all. Preparation for that ordinance consisted of a brief conversation with the "parson," who rather assumed than inquired into the fitness of the candidates.

No "Saints' Days" were kept. Nearly all churches were closed from Sunday to Sunday. Catechizing was unknown. Lent was unnoticed. Daily service which had been said in forty-nine churches in London in 1714, was in 1846 said in only sixteen. Church bells were rung now and then, and ringers held drunken orgies in the belfry.

Doctrine was a matter of indifference. The preacher of a Visitation sermon taught mere Deism, yet the Bishop proposed the health of the preacher ! The Primate held that he himself had no right to an opinion on a point of doctrine which was before the Privy Council !

The Prayer-book was incompletely printed; and pamphlets advocated its deliberate mutilation in order to conciliate dissenters and infidels. Arnold wished the churches to be used in turn by all "denominations."

"Bishops left enormous fortunes made out of pluralities. Salvation consisted in obedience to Acts of Parliament. Such zeal as existed was wild, reckless and ungovernable."

The architecture of such churches as were then built was of a deplorable order; debased Gothic, with windows of hideous tracery, or a queer adaptation of a sort of Norman work.

These records, taken almost entirely from Mr. Bennett's own writings at the time, may give us two useful thoughts: that we need not despair of our own later days, and that since the Church of England has survived such things her "Truth and Office" (in Dr. Pusey's words) are amply proved. Unless she had the Holy Spirit within her she must have succumbed.

Any improvement on all this was "Popery." One clergyman was denounced to his Bishop for "ribbons in the Service books with cardboard crosses on them"; another for "wreaths over the chancel arch." When Hook went to Coventry in 1828, evening service, frequent Communions, services on Saints' Days, lectures in Lent, classes for lads,—all these were new.

There was then plenty to be done in the way of restoring decency to our services, and Mr. Bennett very early in his life began this work.

But one of his first attacks was on the Desecration of Sunday, which was then as frequent as now. In 1837, when he was both Minister of Portman Chapel

and also Curate of All Souls, an address was circulated by the clergy in S. Marylebone, "On the Better Observance of the Lord's Day." Mr. Bennett preached two sermons on this subject. He complained much of the neglect of the afternoon service. "There is not one-third of the persons at church then who are at church in the morning." Our experience in these days is just the opposite. Mr. Bennett's point was that we ought to come twice. It is a point still!

In the same sermon we have a graphic picture of the fashionables and their servants at church.

"How constantly we see in our churches in this metropolis the servant attending upon his master or mistress, carrying with him their Prayer-books and Bibles and waiting upon them to their pew doors; and then quietly and in the face of God and of the congregation retiring from the walls of the church as if he had no part nor lot in the matter of Christian worship! Whether this be the command or within the knowledge of the master, or whether it be the want of desire on the part of the servant to remain, I know not; but when we see a wealthy congregation enjoying the privilege of worshipping God, and yet no directions given and no supervision exercised that their household should enjoy the same privilege; when we see in the vestibules of our churches at the commencement of service and at the conclusion of service multitudes of domestic attendants waiting the commands of their masters, and yet during the service disappearing as a body from among us, I am sure you must agree with me that it is a practice totally antichristian in its spirit, and that it is one of the ways in which the Lord's Day is desecrated. I therefore humbly lay before you, my brethren, the necessity and the duty of providing and taking personal precaution that each member of your household have the opportunity of attending divine service as well as yourselves, *knowing that ye also have a Master in heaven.*"

He went on as to their neglect of Sunday and of worship.

"What shall we say of those who have the *six* days of the week as well as the seventh at their perfect command; who are clothed in purple and fine linen and fare sumptuously every day; who live in kings' houses and are delicately apparelled; whose life is spent in heedless dissipation or in thoughtless enjoyment of the good things of the world *on every day of the week equally;* on whom the sixth or the seventh day rises with no difference of light; and to whom their table, their servants, their equipage, their daily festivities and banquetings are prepared with no pretence of any distinction between the Lord's Day and any other day?"

He also complains of the fashionable promenade in the Zoological Gardens, on Sundays,

"where it is the custom for the poorer classes to be purposely shut out in order that the rich and higher sort may in an exclusive manner meet together to see and to be seen."

In the second of these sermons he traces out the cause of the open shops and of the neglect of the day by the poor.

"There is hardly any sort of trade which is not, in some place or other, fearlessly carried on (on Sunday) in the face of day.

"One great cause we find to be the almost invariable custom of paying the wages of labourers late on the Saturday evening, which compels the purchase of food on the Sunday morning.

"Another great cause we find to be the indulgence of the wealthier part of the community in parties of festivity on the Sunday evening. . . . It prevails among our very highest . . . our commercial men, our statesmen, and many persons connected with the legislation and government of the country. The ten or twenty cannot meet in the evening without as many

or perhaps more being compelled to labour in the morning. The ten or twenty cannot sit down to the luxury of a rich man's feast without as many poor men being forcibly and laboriously occupied in its preparation."

All this was pretty plain speaking for a rich and fashionable congregation; plain speaking as much needed now as then. It must have surprised people accustomed to moral essays which had no practical application.

His peroration on the Sunday is worth repeating for its eloquence.

"We would not have you make the sabbath an onerous burden; we would not have you look upon God as a hard task-master debarring you from all the joys and blessings of His creation; we would not have you exact of yourselves or your families the tedious ceremonies of Judaism or characterize the day by a stern, unbending austerity. In that case the sabbath would be no blessing to man, the church bell would bring no sound of joy, and the quiet tranquillity of the day would be no foretaste of that *rest that remaineth for the people of God.* Your abstinence from the world should be your pleasure, not your sorrow. Your cessation from the drudgery of business and your stop to the avocations of your profession should be just the sources of this day's beauty and gladness, not of its severity. The din of worldly work, the inroads of worldly men, the noise and hurry of the market and the counting-house and the office have left you—and you rejoice, you do not grieve; the hallowed hour of quiet prayer, the solemnity of the assembled multitude, the audience you are now permitted to have with God, your family around you and your children at your knees—it is one teeming source of reverential and outbursting gratitude if your soul has one spark of religion in its being. Show me a religious man who does not love the sabbath, and you show me an anomaly which is inconceivable. Show me a man who says that he loves God and is not found

to be an habitual observer of the fourth commandment, and I tell you that *he is a liar and the truth is not in him.* It is Isaiah who says, *If thou turn away thy foot from the sabbath and from doing thy pleasure on My holy day, and call the sabbath a delight, the holy of the* LORD, *honourable, and shalt honour Him, not doing thine own ways, nor finding thine own pleasure, nor speaking thine own words: then shalt thou* DELIGHT THYSELF IN THE LORD. On this day, while we think of the great original creation of the Universe by the power and wisdom of God as commemorated in the law, we also dwell upon that far more important event, the new creation, the redemption of the world by JESUS Christ. On this day the Church of Christ first sprung into life and enrolled under her banners the souls of saints and martyrs to constitute His eternal kingdom. On this day Christ became the first fruits of them that slept, and arose from the dead to endless life and glory. On this day the Spirit of grace descended upon the Apostles and sent them forth miraculously gifted, baptized with fire, to preach the mysteries of the Gospel. On this day, and through this day, by the blessings which we receive from it, by the instructions which are imparted through the ministers of God's word, by the solemn prayer and the joyful thanksgiving, by the due participation in the sacraments of our blessed Lord, by the due memorial of His death and sufferings, by a due faith in His atoning blood, we hope and pray that we shall, as Christian men, pass from life to death, from death to our joyful resurrection, and from our joyful resurrection to eternal glory."

CHAPTER III

S. PAUL'S, KNIGHTSBRIDGE

1843. Consecration of S. Paul's.
The original parish and the district of S. Paul's.
What the new parish was, as to riches and poverty.
It was expected he would be made a bishop.
Brief continuation of the story of the Movement, 1833 to 1843.
Gradual advance of the leaders towards the light.
1835. "The Eucharist."
1842. "Guide to the Holy Eucharist."
His own account of his progress, and description of the fortunes of the Movement.
1842. The Bishop's charge, its effect on him.
S. Paul's to be the trial ground of the principles of the charge.
Programme of services in 1846.
1848. "FIVE SEPARATE SERVICES!"
Accusation of Romanizing.
"Soft words."
Mr. Chirol, his curate, becomes a Romanist; but returns.

IN the year 1840 Mr. Bennett had been invited by Bishop Blomfield to take charge of a new church which was to be built in Knightsbridge as a relief to the enormous parish of S. George's, Hanover Square. Even the extra accommodation given by S. Peter's, Eaton Square, was insufficient, and so S. Paul's, Knightsbridge, "came," as Mr. Bennett expresses it, "into view." But the support of the church was (alas!) to be pew rents. Neither Mr. Bennett nor any one else, it seems, had in 1840 any vision of the free and open church of the future, for he tells the parishioners of S. Paul's that

"at that time you were collecting your money for the purpose of building S. Paul's; the plans were made; the site was chosen. I came among you as your recognized minister and took part in the deliberations of the building committee."

The first stone of S. Paul's was laid in 1840, and the church was consecrated in 1843, Mr. Bennett becoming, by the Bishop's appointment, the first incumbent.

The parish of S. George's, Hanover Square, which was arranged in 1725, contained, in 1851, no less than 8792 houses and 73,230 inhabitants. It included, besides the district bounded by Regent Street and Hyde Park, an excrescence which extended from Knightsbridge down to the river, between Chelsea and Westminster, and contained Chelsea Hospital and its surroundings. Out of this had been carved a parish for S. Peter's, Eaton Square, and the district assigned to S. Paul's was taken partly from the old parish and partly from that which belonged to S. Peter's. Its shape was a narrow strip of land a mile and a quarter long, and it contained, in 1840, a population of about 12,000, and had within its borders some of the wealthiest and some of the poorest streets in London.

"Rows and rows of splendid palaces," says Mr. Bennett, "were coupling Hyde Park with the banks of the Thames; piles of splendour in furniture and luxury were creeping down the once marshy fields of Pimlico and filling the abodes of the noble and the rich."

It became in the course of a few years perhaps the wealthiest parish in England. Lord John Russell,

Prime Minister from 1846 to 1852, was one of the parishioners. "Mind you make a good Churchman of Lord John Russell," the Bishop is reported to have said. "I'll try," was Mr. Bennett's answer; and the story agrees with an entry in his diary which he prints in his farewell letter. The Prime Minister did indeed become from the first a member of the congregation of S. Paul's and a frequent communicant at its altar. According to the alarmed Protestant newspapers of the day his Lordship was credited with the intention of making Mr. Bennett one of his first bishops.

One pauses to wonder what would have been the effect on the Church had so uncompromising a man become one of her hierarchy. With a second "Henry of Exeter" on the bench her vigour would surely have been doubled. But we are also induced to reflect on the danger to which Mr. Bennett was now exposed. How great must have been the temptation to rest on his oars in the pleasant place in which his lot was now cast, to be the fashionable and much-run-after cleric of the most fashionable of congregations, and, by bending a little to the prejudices of men, to become in course of time "My Lord"! Happily this was not to be; yet the friends, noble and wealthy, whom he made at this period were destined to be, for many years to come, enthusiastic helpers in his many works.

The story of Mr. Bennett will not be intelligible to those who have not made a special study of the Oxford Movement unless we here continue our brief chronology of its varying fortunes. Pusey, Professor of Hebrew at Oxford from 1828, began in 1833 to

join the Movement, and in the course of the next two years became fully identified with it. Newman had severed himself from the "Evangelical party." He was now Vicar of S. Mary's, Oxford, and also of Littlemore. Hurrell Froude, who was the most rapidly progressive of the little band, and who, in 1828, had thought Newman "no better than a heretic," made with him, in 1833, that famous journey to Rome which was illumined by the commencement of the "Lyra Apostolica," and by the inspiration of "Lead, Kindly Light," as Newman lay becalmed in the Straits of Bonifacio. Newman returned to Oxford in time to hear the Assize sermon of Keble, now Professor of Poetry, on "National Apostacy," which the future Cardinal always regarded as marking the real era of the Movement. The same autumn saw the meeting at Hadleigh at which it was determined to "fight for the Apostolical succession," and also the commencement of those "Tracts for the Times," which gave the party one of their nicknames. It is curious to note that the immediate cause of the Movement was an attack on the Irish Church. The abolition of ten Irish bishoprics by Act of Parliament brought before the minds of the leaders the claim of the bishops to be independent of State arrangements, and thus the Apostolic succession came into the foreground. It is important to observe how chief a point in the Movement was the Episcopal authority, since extreme reverence for this doctrine determined Mr. Bennett's conduct at the chief crisis of his life.

The ten following years, 1833 to 1843, during

which Mr. Bennett was at All Souls and at Portman Chapel, were full of events. Pusey, with Newman, Keble, and Charles Marriott, began the "Library of the Fathers," with the intention expressed in its motto, "Thine eyes shall see thy teachers." Manning joined the ranks. Church, to be hereafter Dean of S. Paul's, and, as it seems, had he chosen, Archbishop of Canterbury, was elected Fellow of Oriel. Gladstone, then "the rising hope of the stern and unbending Tories," published his works, "The State in its Relations to the Church," and "Church Principles considered in their Results." "Ideal Ward," of Balliol, aptly so called from his "Ideal of a Christian Church," threw in his lot, as a very "free lance," however, with the work. Sixty thousand copies of the Tracts were sold in one year, and "all went merry as a marriage bell." In 1839 the influence of Newman at Oxford was at its height, owing largely to those Sunday afternoon sermons at S. Mary's, wonderful in their effect though delivered in the most unimpassioned manner. The enthusiasm of the party increased with its numbers, and it was thought then (as James Lonsdale said to the writer) that "the Tractarians were going to have it all their own way."

Then came a series of reverses. "Tract ninety," published in 1841, though to us nowadays it seems merely a stream of obvious truisms obscurely expressed, alienated many, and Mr. Bennett himself wrote in condemnation of it. The bishops took alarm and ranged themselves against the Tracts and their

authors. Ward's "Ideal" was condemned by the University, and Tract ninety only escaped a similar fate by the veto of the Proctors. In 1842 Newman withdrew from Oxford to Littlemore. In the following year Dr. Pusey preached his famous sermon, "The Eucharist a comfort to the penitent," and Oxford, unable to accept his doctrine, suspended him from the University pulpit for two years.

It is well observed by Dr. Neale (in his "Church Difficulties," published by him in 1851, and republished by Mr. Bennett in 1871) that it was of the greatest advantage to the Movement that "the light gradually dawned on the minds" of the leaders. Had it been otherwise—

> "had it pleased God that the fuller light should at once burst in upon them, undoubtedly they would have sought in Rome what they never could have hoped to obtain in our Church."

Some of them, indeed, had been brought up as "Evangelicals"; some as "high and dry"; some with vagueness. Mr. Bennett, like others, had been from the commencement feeling his way to the light, and his opinions developed along with those of the party. At first he followed the others very cautiously and at a distance. Though in his earlier days distinctly "low church," he never held those ideas which have been dignified with the title of "Evangelical"—the ideas that *you* must individually receive a special revelation that Christ died for you in particular and that, having received such a revelation, your salvation is henceforth a matter of certainty. Nor did Mr. Bennett hastily accept the teaching of the "Tractarians." We can

trace in his books the change of his views, and this change is the more interesting in that it synchronized with the same change in a very large number of his contemporaries. It should, indeed, be rather called "development," than "change," in his case.

His first volume, "The Eucharist, its History, Doctrine, and Practice, with Meditations and Prayers suitable to that Holy Sacrament," published in 1837, when he was thirty-three, consists of lecture-sermons preached in Lent at All Souls in 1835, and at Portman Chapel in 1837. In this volume he shows himself to be but little touched by the Oxford Movement, for he thinks that the doctrine of the Presence in the Sacrament, as taught by the Church of England, approaches more nearly to that of Calvin than any other of the Continental Reformers;

"The Bread and Wine signifying, not being in reality, but signifying in a spiritual manner, the Body and Blood of the Saviour of the World."

And again he says—

"The Bread and Wine *represent* the Body and Blood of JESUS Christ."

So once more—

"There is, therefore, the Presence of Christ, but it would seem that the presence depends, and the reception '*verily and indeed*' depends, not on the Consecrating words of the priest, who gives, but on the faith of him who receives."

Nevertheless, his discussion of the question is entirely of the Catholic type and manner, and though he comes to a "Low Church" conclusion, it is not

difficult to see to what results his principles must in the end lead him. He argues, indeed, for a daily Eucharist, and for the use of a credence table, and points out the meaning of "Oblations." He wishes the proper oblation of the elements by the priest—instead of by the parish clerk! And it is clear enough that he will soon become his own convert to the Catholic faith.

In 1842 he published a "Guide to the Holy Eucharist," two small volumes, the first for use in preparation at home, the second for use in church. In these he advocates Confession; speaks of the Sacraments as channels of Grace; advocates the mixed Chalice (but objects to wafers); and wishes the Prayer of offering the Sacrifice were joined to the Prayer of Consecration as of old. Already he was abused, in 1842, as a follower of Newman, Keble, and Pusey.

A series of lecture-sermons on "The Distinctive Errors of Romanism," preached in Portman Chapel, 1842, was the outcome of "the present alarm in the Church" about Popery, of which the Oxford Movement was now freely accused. His point is that Romanism consists of *additions* to the Faith. The book did not relieve him from suspicions of Popery, for it produced more than one attack from Protestant controversialists. His views on the Eucharistic Sacrifice and on Tradition did not meet with their approval. In 1845 he put forth his "Principles of the Book of Common Prayer," a volume which shows him to be by that time fully in accordance with the whole of the Oxford Movement.

In his "Farewell Letter to the Parishioners of

S. Paul's" he gives us a not unamusing narrative of his own progress, together with a description of the Movement as it appeared to men in 1851. This, as a contemporary account of it by an eye-witness, is much more authentic and interesting than any which could be compiled now.

"In reviewing my opinions of Church matters at that period (1840), I do not find that there was any remarkable peculiarity about me either as to doctrine or to practice; I only remember that I was then, as I had always been, fond of external propriety in the things of God, and that I was a great lover of order and regularity in divine worship; but I do not think there was in me the slightest bias towards any ritual observances, saving those which are well known as carrying out the common ordinary decorum of what is usually called the 'Protestant' Church of England. On the contrary, towards the Church of Rome I perfectly well remember that I showed to the full extent all the prejudices and abhorrence which good 'Protestants' as such so faithfully cherish. As an instance of which I full well remember preaching a sermon on the fifth of November, in which sermon I indulged in such a degree in all the vituperations of the doctrines of Rome that the sermon was printed by desire of the congregation."

This sermon must be that which is printed in his "Sermons on Miscellaneous Subjects," Vol. I. No. 5, and his chief point is "the fatal mistake of joining politics to religion and associating a temporal with a spiritual dominion"—a point in which all wise *Catholics* as well as all good *Protestants* will surely concur.

"I had also published a little work on the 'Eucharist,' and another on 'The Distinctive Errors of Romanism,' in both of which, while I endeavoured to set forth to the full extent, as I then imagined, the teaching of the English Church, I

gave vent to those explanations of Roman doctrine which I found embodied in our great divines of the seventeenth century. These things I only mention as a sort of satisfaction to myself in the review of what is past and to convince you as parishioners that your then appointed minister did not come among you with the slightest taint of that odium or suspicion which has since so wonderfully grown against him in reference to the Church of Rome.

"But it happened, as you probably well know, that for a few years previous there had arisen in the English Church an important and prevailing party, deriving their strength principally from a revival of the ancient discipline of the Church in her dogmatic teaching, her privileges as derived from the apostolic succession, and her beauty in the external features of public worship in ritual and order. From 1840 to 1842 this party in the Church advanced very considerably in the public estimation; it began to impart a new spirit and life to the ordinary character of the priesthood, which till then had been so widely tainted with coldness and formalism. There had been nothing for a long period preceding between the extravagance of the Calvinists or semi-Dissenters, who despised all idea of sacramental grace, and the cold didactic teaching of the mere moralist, who would preach a sermon one day which you might have read in the *Spectator* the day before. In fact, life was nearly extinguished. The embers of the fire lit up by Andrewes, Laud, Beveridge, Wilson, Ken, Hooker and such other learned and holy men were fast dying out, and had it not been in the preceding century for the zeal and devotion of Wesley, even though it ended in a schism, you would probably have seen the death of the English Church by the mere process of inanition. But now a revival of the ancient energies again appeared; in the new party life again rekindled; reverence, devotion, and self-sacrifice were the peculiar features of its teaching. Churches better ordered, services more frequently said, a higher and a purer tone of sermons, a deeper appreciation of sacramental grace, catholicity in faith, sanctity in practice, unity in love,—these, I thought, appeared to be the principal features by which the new school

or party in the Church began to be distinguished. It grew on, filled the churches and the pulpits, it laid hold on the hearts of men. All combined towards its perfection. Architecture began to stir in the external construction of a better order of the sanctuaries of God; music lent its aid, and the songs of David began once more to be sung to the ancient choral services of S. Gregory; painting lent its aid, and the churches began to manifest the beauties of colour and art and man's device for the decoration of *the place where His honour dwelleth.* Thus all combined in a revival of devotion which soon began to make itself felt.

"And then it was—just at this very period, when it was at the height of its popularity, without any of the fears or jealousies which subsequently molested it—then it was that the Bishop of London, in his charge of 1842, thought fit to introduce it to the observance of the clergy in terms of general approbation. Speaking of the celebration of Divine Service, the Rubrics and the Canons, he uses these words—

"'Now, it is impossible to deny that a great degree of laxity has crept over us in this matter, and we are much indebted to those learned and pious men who have forcibly recalled our attention to a branch of duty too imperfectly performed. In some instances, indeed, they have gone beyond the line of duty and of prudence, in recommending or practising ceremonies and forms not authorized by their own Church, and in ascribing to others an importance which does not properly belong to them; but there can be no doubt of their having mainly contributed to the progress which has been made during the last few years towards a full and exact observance of the Church's rubrical injunctions as well as to a better understanding of the foundations and proportions of her polity and the nature and value of her discipline.'

"To me, as one of his Lordship's younger clergy at that time—one just beginning to feel his way and forming for himself a system of theology—this encomium of the Bishop seemed of great importance. It could not well be thought that the Bishop would speak thus highly of a party in the Church, could praise them as tending in their teaching to a

better understanding of the foundations and proportions of her polity, without, in some degree, leading us to infer that they were meant to be objects for our imitation. I confess that my agreement in opinion with their tenets had long attached me to that party, while if any doubt remained as to the wisdom of openly following what was taught, the doubt was at once removed by this well-deserved encomium of our Bishop. It seemed to say, 'Follow these men in their practices and doctrines, allowing for some few exceptions. Do not go into certain extremes; yet, in the main, follow them, and you will be consulting my wishes as your Bishop.'

"And so it was, my heart grew warm towards the system of Church Restoration so prominently put forward. My reason was convinced, my determination was fixed, and from that period I became an open and professed advocate of what was then generally denominated the Oxford School of Divinity. I was resolved that, as opportunity was afforded me, even in the curacy I then occupied (Portman Chapel), I would pursue the Bishop's wishes; and, should it please God to fulfil His promise in calling me to a more important sphere of action as an incumbent, by these principles I would abide, as furnishing the people with '*a better understanding of the foundations and proportions of the Church's polity*.'

"Nor was it long. The year 1842 gave us the Bishop's charge of which we have been speaking. My appointment to the Church of S. Paul had preceded the charge, but my commencement of the actual work was deferred to the succeeding year. The year 1843 saw the consecration of the new church, and my ministry among you began. I came to it fresh and ardent. I came to it in the full tide of the popularity of Church Restoration, on the Bishop's own appointment. I came to it as in reality my first public opportunity, in a new church and with a new congregation, to carry into effect what my reason convinced me was right, my heart prompted me to follow as pleasing to myself, and my obedience to my Bishop confirmed as my obligation and my duty."

S. Paul's was to be, as Mr. Bennett expresses it,

"the trial ground" of this charge of the Bishop, and, indeed, "the church and parish were to be," as Mr. Wakeling says, "for a long time the centre of many struggles to maintain the showing forth of Church principles before the world of London."

But troubles soon began. At the consecration of S. Paul's the Bishop, in spite of his recent charge, is said to have ordered the removal of an oak eagle! History does not record whether his Lordship feared an idolatrous worship of the bird or whether his mind was prescient of the old woman at S. Barnabas' who informed Sir F. Ouseley that she always sat close by the *turkey*. At the consecration Mr. Hodgson, Rector of the parent church, S. George's, Hanover Square, read the prayers facing the people, though the desk was placed sideways. Letters of complaint about all sorts of matters, trivial or otherwise, were continuous. Yet progress went on. In Advent, 1846, the choir was put into surplices, and from Mr. Bennett's pastoral letter of the same year we see what were at that time the arrangements for Service in one of the most "advanced" churches in London.

Nothing is said of an early Celebration. Mattins, followed by Celebration, began at 11. This he proposed to alter by having the Mattins at 10.30, and beginning the Celebration at 11, but on putting the matter to the vote of the congregation "the amendment was lost," it seems, for no alteration was made. As a reason for the proposed arrangement he gives us a picture of the work done which will astonish some modern workers.

"We have an average of 120 communicants; we commence the service at 11 and seldom conclude before half-past two. At half-past two the congregation come in for Evening Service at 3, women for churching, children for baptism; so that we are occupied, with very little intermission, from 11 to 5, *i.e.* six hours, in the presence of a congregation of seldom less than 1700 persons in the morning and 1200 in the evening; and withal the second Evening Service following closely after at half-past six. Very frequently the clergy have not time to take off their robes between the Communion Service and the Evening Service."

His rules about other services were these: Baptisms after Second Lesson on Sundays at the 3 p.m. Evensong; on weekdays at the 5 p.m. Evensong. Churchings before any service. Marriages to be performed as ordered in the Prayer-book—the first part in the body of the church, the second at the altar. But the most striking advance was in lighting the two candles on the altar at the Celebration. The exact date is not recorded, but it was before the consecration of S. Barnabas'. In November, 1846, the *Theologian* tells us that on holidays Mattins was sung at 8, and there was Holy Communion at 11, preceded by Litany sung by the choir "decently habited as in cathedrals." By 1848 an early Celebration had begun.

On the First Sunday in Advent, 1848, the services were these: At 7.45, Holy Communion; at 9, Mattins and sermon; at 11, ordinary full services of Sunday with second Celebration; at 3 p.m., Evening Service; at 6, Evening Service repeated, and a sermon, —nothing very amazing in these days, yet a correspondent complained to the Bishop of the *number* of

these services. "*Five* separate services," he says, with the "five" underscored. An awful crime! Obvious Popery! Truly "the Church was in danger"!

The usual charge of Romanizing was, as we have seen, frequently brought against Mr. Bennett. Nevertheless, there was perhaps no stronger or more effective opponent of the Roman claims in England than he was. Throughout his career he considered the position of the Roman Catholic Church in this country as schismatical, and we shall see that with perfect consistency he regarded our chapels and chaplains abroad in the dioceses of Roman Catholic bishops as being equally schismatic.

On October 16, 1845, soon after the reception of Newman and others into the Roman Church, he wrote to the *English Churchman*, then the organ of the High Church Party, complaining of the use of "soft words," such as "secession," "departure," "going over," to describe the sin of schism.

"No one better than yourself would acknowledge that there can be but one Catholic Church; and that whatever be the branch of that Church existing in this country, to break off one's self from it and go out of it is an act no more nor less than schism.

"Why this softening of words? Is it an act of schism to leave the Communion of the Catholic Church or is it not? If it be, then why not call those who are guilty of the sin by the right name? Whether it be the imaginative Mr. Ward who deals in Ideas; or should it be the subtle Mr. Oakeley who holds all Roman doctrine; whether it be the simple Mr. Wingfield who believes the Church to be represented by the individual Judge of the Court of Arches and takes his dogmas as though he were a Pope—infallible; or whether (alas!) it

should be, as now it is said beyond doubt it is, the learned and pious Mr. Newman,—still every one is nothing more nor less than guilty of schism. If they depart from us, let them depart: let us grieve for them; let us pray for them; let us fast day by day and offer up bitter cries and supplication to GOD on their behalf. But let us not deceive ourselves and them by soft words. It is a sin of which they are guilty; and as sinners in that act let us lament for them in common justice to ourselves, for if they are not guilty of sin, in what position are we who remain? Let them depart, but let them depart not as 'Seceders' but as 'Schismatics.'"

He followed this up on the Twenty-second Sunday after Trinity, 1845, by a sermon at S. Paul's, "On the Schism of certain Priests and others lately in communion with the Church." In this he condemns them as "setting up a rival worship," as denying their baptism and (in the case of priests) their orders. A caution given in that sermon is almost or quite as much needed now as then.

"It has been frequently, and with truth, observed that some among us, even among the clergy, seem as though they took delight in indulging in sneers and disrespectful language when they speak of our Church—seem to take a sort of pleasure when difficulties beset her and misfortunes come, as though it were her own fault. This is not, indeed, schism, but it is want of faithfulness. Such are most surely smoothing the way in their minds for the assaults of Satan, when they look upon the Church otherwise than as to them most dear. These men are fond to contrast her with Rome; they bring out, as a favourite topic, all the beauties of the one system, to set them off against the blemishes and imperfections of the other, and then seem as though they rejoiced because in *some* respects, we must with grief confess, the one falls short. But this is not the affection of faithful children. May not God visit such in His time, by sending them a hard heart and suffering them to fall? It is

dangerous to play with holy things. Next to God and the Holy Scriptures is the Church holy. To speak a word of disparagement against her—to *think* even with disparagement of her, save it be with a desire by our own good works and our own self-sacrifices and our own prayers, to raise her and to amend in her what is deficient in discipline and decayed in practice—even to *think* with disparagement of her as a mother, is hostile to the feelings of a faithful child. Do not, then, indulge in this nor suffer it in others. But enter into no controversy, for controversy, as well as speaking lightly, hardens the heart. Let there be no wrangling among us about mysteries above our comprehension. We have had quite sufficient of this in the schism of the Dissenter, we want it not now in the schism of the Romanist. What we want now is PEACE. Almighty God, give us PEACE."

But, alas! the trouble was to come nearer to himself and to his work. In August, 1847, Mr. Alexander Chirol, who had been Curate only since April, and who was to have been the chief worker at S. Barnabas', became a Roman Catholic. "*He found*," wrote a correspondent to Mr. Bennett, "*all so anti-popish amongst our pastors that he could not remain longer.*" On this Mr. Bennett preached and published a sermon called "Apostacy. A Sermon in reference to a late event at S. Paul's, Knightsbridge." In this he takes the position that for an English *priest* to become a Roman Catholic is not only schism, but also the breaking the oath of the priesthood, and so is "apostacy." He thought, too, that, as sometimes happens, undue secrecy had been preserved with regard to Mr. Chirol's intention to join the "Italian Mission." Mr. Chirol replied with "A Statement of Facts," to which Mr. Bennett

rejoined in a small pamphlet. The sermon went through eight editions before the end of the year.

He also placed the following, truly called "characteristic," notice on the door of the church :—

"Whereas Mr. Alexander Chirol, late assistant curate of this parish, has joined certain Schismatics and Sectarians, generally called *Romanists*, and is thereby *ipso facto* DEPRIVED for the present of all the spiritual functions of HOLY ORDERS and EXCOMMUNICATED from the Church of England; and whereas the said Mr. Alexander Chirol has been circulating letters and otherwise tampering with the Faith of certain of the parishioners, endeavouring to induce them to join him in his sinful act of Schism and Apostacy, it is my duty, as the parish priest, to warn the parishioners and all other faithful members of the Church; and they are hereby warned against holding any intercourse, by letter, speech or otherwise, in spiritual matters with the said Mr. Alexander Chirol, until such time as he may be restored to the Communion of the Church. The rule of Holy Scripture and the Church is that the faithful should not hold communion with Schismatics and Apostates, according to the precept of our Lord, 'If he shall neglect to hear the Church, let him be unto thee as an heathen man and a publican.'—S. Matt. xviii. 17."

The rest of the story is the most important and most pleasant part of it. Many years elapsed; Mr. Chirol returned to the Church of England. Mr. Bennett readmitted him to the Church at Froome, and gave him one of the curacies there, putting him in charge of the little Church of S. Mary's, at Innox Hill.

During the whole of Mr. Bennett's time at Froome his loss of parishioners in the direction of Rome amounted to two, or, at most, three.

CHAPTER IV

THE IDEA AND BUILDING OF S. BARNABAS', PIMLICO

The slums of Pimlico.
Contrasts.
Mr. Bennett's appeal for funds.
The church to be from free gifts.
The church to be free for all.
How the money might be provided by different classes.
June 11, 1846. The foundation-stone of the school laid.
June 11, 1847. Foundation-stone of the church laid.
Gifts of ornaments, etc.
Plan of the building.
Bishop allows all that is asked, except flowers!

THERE had arisen in the lower portion of the district assigned to S. Paul's, amid the marshes of Pimlico, near the Hospital and to the east of Ebury Street, a series of deplorable slums, which extended down to the river. From 1742 to 1803 those gardens, which in still earlier times had belonged to the Earl of Ranelagh, attracted to their nightly shows, amid fashionable sin and frivolity, the princes and nobles of the land. But in that neighbourhood most unfashionable sin and brutal degradation reigned in 1850. There the streets were rugged and but half made, undrained, unpaved. The houses were not old but already ruinous. The foul sewer, which drained half of Western London, and had been originally "The Serpentine River," ran, open and uncovered, full of filth of every sort down to the Thames, between

starved, half-decayed trees whose branches produced leaves that could be numbered. The appropriately named "Nell Gwynn's Court" looked down, in defiance of cholera, upon this flowing tide of abomination, and delighted in filth and foulness both of body and soul, which neither the Sanitary nor the Ecclesiastical Commissioners had been cruel enough to put to flight.

The inhabitants matched, naturally enough, their surroundings. Men, women and children were half clad, without shoes, dirty, ragged, reckless. Their lot seemed so low and miserable that they were careless with despair and without power to desire to be otherwise than they were. The low lodging-houses were dens for profligates and thieves. The small beer-shops were receptacles for the veriest dregs of society. Street rows were incessant. Drink and gambling flourished. Dirty, disorderly, ill-conditioned children filled the streets. Blasphemy met the ear at every turn. The district presented an aspect of degradation and darkness scarcely to be exceeded in London.

But within a short distance, how great was the contrast!

"'Nell Gwynn's Court' and 'New Grosvenor Place' and other such-like nests and rookeries of poverty became joined to their once parish church by an intermediate race of palaces which were springing up in the new Belgravia, and rivalling or cutting out Grosvenor Square and its surroundings."

These descriptions, derived from Mr. Bennett's own words and those of other contemporary witnesses,

give an idea of the work to be done, and of the call to do it. The doer was not far off.

"It was the year 1843," Mr. Bennett says, in the preface to the Octave Sermons at S. Barnabas', "that brought the writer in contact with the two extremes of poverty and wealth, of Lazarus and Dives. Never had he seen it so before. Never had the contrast of all that was luxurious so mingled in his mind with all that was abject—all that was sumptuous and beautiful with all that was low, wretched, and foul. Many an evening walk in the still, hot summer of London, has brought me, by some pastoral duty, in a moment of time, from the one extreme right into the midst of the other. I have gone forth from the lowest degradation of squalid misery and filth, into the glittering display of festivity and magnificence. I have come forth from the sound of wailing children wanting food, and sat down in the brilliant assemblies of joyous, thoughtless, self-indulging creatures, without a desire ungratified or a want unsupplied. I have come out of houses with my ears tingling with the oaths of the profane and the coarse bold words of the wicked, and have listened, before the sounds have passed away, to the courteous phraseology of all that seemed refined and elegant."

It would have been wonderful if his spirit had *not* been stirred within him. Yet in this contrast he must often have had some such thought in his mind as that which Dr. Pusey once dwelt upon, and must have feared more for fashionable Belgravia in the Day of Judgment than for poor, neglected Pimlico.

It is astonishing to think that up to this time there was scarcely any provision for the poor to worship God in all this neighbourhood, unless it was that provided for them by Dissenters.

"Few would imagine," he tells us, "that the banks of the

river Thames held round about them in the nineteenth century a dense population of poor and lower classes totally unprovided with any of the spiritual aids of religion, in utter poverty both of mind and body. Yet so it was. Close adjoining Chelsea Hospital lies a district whose inhabitants until very lately went through the form of supposing that their parish church in George Street, Hanover Square, was to furnish them with room for divine worship, and that the Rector of S. George's was their parish priest, who would attend to the spiritual edification of their souls. Uncared for by the clergy, seldom receiving any pastoral visits, without worship, without a school for their children, their families unbaptized, themselves in ignorance, habitual sin their sole guide and rule of life:—so they were left.

"This is not meant to be any reflection on the then existing clergy. Far from it; for how was it to be expected that the Rector of S. George's, Hanover Square, could by any possibility visit or superintend the poor by Chelsea Hospital? How was it possible that he could even get through the pastoral charge closely adjoining his own rectory in Grosvenor Street? Physical powers could not have done it. It was beyond his reach. And so the Church of S. Peter was added, with two clergymen to superintend the lower or outer wards of the parish.

"But still even this was a mere nothing. What were *two*—to thousands? What was the cramped and fettered teaching of two 'ministers' of a church which was under the control and regulation of a parish vestry for funds and under the restraints of formality, still remaining, of the old parish of S. George's? What was a church filled with a mere colony of the inhabitants of Grosvenor Square, tied up in pews and shackled with payments for every inch of sitting room, to do for poor men and women who had not a shilling to pay? How could two pastors do work which needed twenty at the least computation?

"But while Nell Gwynn's Court had been left to make a place of worship for itself, and therefore had none, it was not so with Belgrave Square. Belgrave Square must have a church

and clergyman of its own; S. Peter's was not sufficient and S. George's was too distant. And so arose S. Paul's, Knightsbridge—that is to say, it arose with all the odious system of pews and pew rents; the rich exclusiveness of the fashionable and the great, as though a man could not pray unless he were locked in and fenced round with a wooden box, and as though he could not adore his God unless he were safe from the intrusion of his brother; as though the poor by being too close would taint the air of the rich man's nobility; as though Sacraments and graces of preaching and blessings of prayer were only fitted for those who could pay for them, and return an equivalent to the minister in gold and silver.

"'Why do you not come to church?' we said to the poor labourer, the mechanic, the widow, the hard-working charwoman. 'Will you show us where we can go?' was the reply. 'Give us a church, and we will.' We turned aside, acknowledging the rebuke. They could not."

Undoubtedly they could not, for the sittings at S. Paul's were £15 a year each; and the proprietary chapels which sprang up were necessarily concerned with their own finances and so were for the good of the rich only.

"Look round for the poor," Mr. Bennett says in his pastoral letter of Easter, 1846, which "reads even now like a trumpet-call," says a writer. "In which of the churches are they? They have been driven from the pews to the open seats, and from the open seats to the door, and from the door, the door of God's house—they have been driven to the conventicle, or, worse maybe, to the preaching of the infidel in the parks and open places of the streets; or, worse maybe still, to the depth and darkness of despair in their own uninstructed hearts; discontented, ready for rebellion, alone, friendless, unloved, unloving. I do announce to you, my brethren, as God's ambassador, that '*the poor have* NOT *the Gospel preached to them*'—and so announcing it I implore you to give heed.

There is a grievous disease among us—a heavy charge against us—a fearful sin—the neglect of the characteristic of Christ's Holy Religion: THE PREACHING OF THE GOSPEL TO THE POOR. And so announcing it, I implore you to come forth and help in its remedy."

His remedy was to build a new church quite free for all; the rich of the parish were to build it for the poor of the parish, and thus the extremes of rich and poor already side by side were to be brought closer together still.

The principle was to be free gifts.

"Reflect on this," he says. "There has never yet been in the whole parish of S. George's, Hanover Square, either in its original extent or in its present sub-division, any church or chapel built upon a principle of *alms-giving*. S. Peter's was built by a parish rate; S. Paul's, as well also as S. Michael's, was built on a principle of apportioning the pews for the service of the rich, according to the amount of their subscriptions. *That* cannot be called *alms-giving*, seeing that the poor were only *accidently* brought into the church, and not as a principle."

His original plan was for a church to contain 1000 persons, a schoolhouse for 600 children, and a parsonage house; a plan, however, which grew as he saw his way clearer. "The church is to be entirely free, without pews or galleries." Strange that in 1846 these were novel ideas! The Marquis of Westminster had given the land. The estimated cost was £13,700, he thinks they had better say £14,000, "to provide against contingencies." He wanted another £1000 for a small endowment. He half apologizes for asking so much!

First he tells them that the scheme is *not unnecessary*—which to us nowadays appears somewhat obvious; apparently it did not seem so then. The district of S. Paul's contained, he thought, 14,000 people crowded into that narrow strip a mile and a quarter long. About 6000 were in the lower part of the parish. Clearly there was not room in S. Paul's Church.

"We may safely say that there are many hundreds in our parish unbaptized, certainly many thousands unconfirmed, and more than two-thirds have no notion of the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper as in any way necessary to Salvation. They have no worship, no means of grace, no hearts towards God, no hearts towards man. Is it *unnecessary* to attend to their wants?"

Next he points out that—

"it is not an unjust tax upon" them, for "even setting aside the great Catholic principle of preaching the Gospel to the poor without regard to locality, the existence of this poor population around you depends entirely upon *yourselves*. You are the indirect creators of it. It is you that have brought them here, from the magnificent dwellings in which you live, and the horses and carriages which you keep, and the many servants whom you require to minister to your wants. Belgrave Square, Eaton Place, Chesham Place, and Lowndes Street, with others of the like grandeur and comfort of dwelling, are the cause of Ebury Street and Queen Street and Clifford's Row and New Grosvenor Place being filled with a population of poor men, women, and children, striving laboring men working from hand to mouth to sustain life. It is, then, not unjust (if you *will* call it a tax) that you should have this tax, but remember this is only the lowest ground. I for my part speak of it as your privilege; but if *you* on your

part will speak of it as a tax, then let it be so—but it is not unjust."

Thirdly, he shows that the scheme is *not impracticable*, and how the money might be got together. He makes a census of the houses of the rich, and estimates them at 367, houses of persons whose income varies from £1000 to £100,000 a year, and he thinks that—

	£
One person may be moved to give	1000
Two persons £500 each	1000
Four persons £250 each	1000
Eight persons £200 each	1600
Twenty persons £100 each	2000
One hundred persons £50 each	5000
Sums under £50	2400
	£14,000

And as for the clergy, they were to be maintained by some small endowment, but chiefly by the offertory.

"That offertory may be set apart in three portions—one-third for the poor, one-third for the officers and maintenance of the church, and one-third for the clergy who serve at the altar; and then also we may send down from S. Paul's one-third of our offertory for their maintenance. I calculate that from this we shall derive an income of at least £600 a year, and hence we shall be able to provide for three additional curates."

Finally, he exhorts them with these glowing words—

"Let us work faithfully together. Come with me into the lanes and streets of this great city. Come with me and visit the dens of infamy and the haunts of vice, ignorance, filth, and atheism with which it abounds. Come with me

and read the story of Dives and Lazarus. Come with me and turn over the pages of the Holy Book, by whose precepts your lives are, at least in theory, guided; then look at your noble houses and the trappings of your equipages, the gold that glitters on your sideboards, and the jewels that gleam on your bosoms; then say within your secret conscience, as standing before the great and terrible God at the Day of Judgment, 'What shall I do if I give not of the one to relieve the other?' O my brethren, come and let us reason together. All these things will have an end. Your rank and your earthly privileges and your superiority above other men will have an end. Seek for some other rank than that you have here, higher privileges, a better superiority—where 'the first will be last, and the last first.'"

The appeal was not in vain.

"It pleased God to bless what I had said," he tells us afterwards, "far beyond my most sanguine expectations. I never doubted of *ultimate* success. I never doubted but that *in the course of time* I should see the Church of S. Barnabas in existence, and all I cared for completed; but I looked to many years of toil and patience and waiting, because I took into account the many adverse circumstances surrounding the attempt. I considered the peculiar party in the Church to which I was attached, the suspicions naturally belonging to the idea of a free church, the want of personal interest in a work from which no personal benefit was to be derived, the expense and costliness of the undertaking, the times bad, hostility to S. Paul's and its mode of Divine worship, antipathy in a great portion of the parishioners to myself personally, absence of support and want of sympathy in the Bishop of the diocese."

But the answer to his appeal "was far more immediate than the most sanguine could have expected." In fact, the offertory at S. Paul's from Easter, 1846, to Easter, 1847, was £6641. Thus the foundation-stone

of the schoolhouse was laid on S. Barnabas' Day, 1846, and the commencement was made of the parsonage house in the same autumn. "Soon the funds began to show themselves sufficient to authorize the whole undertaking."

Then with success came an enlargement of the original design. The idea arose of some kind of college for choristers and for four priests, with some kind of "foundation for the permanent supply of all the usual offices required in a collegiate institution."

"How could we better manifest our love for the poor than by some such plan as this? How could we better show them that we really considered their welfare our primary object than by coming down among them, and living with them in their very streets as an ecclesiastical body? If a mere church would be a blessing, and a mere ordinary priest and a common school, how much more would the aspect of a collegiate establishment? If the poor could but see their children actually brought up under the personal teaching and superintendance of clergy upon the spot; if they were taken in and made of themselves part and parcel of the Church, clothed, housed, and fed upon the Church's own territory; if the aspect of many clergy combined, many on the spot together, forming, not a common *jejune* service once or twice on Sunday, but every day, night and morning, and that with all the additions of a full choir and the highest ornaments of the Church's ritual,—if all this could be achieved, then how much deeper and more firmly and more enduringly would our work enter into their hearts and feelings, and how very much more quickly, with God's help, would the good work of pastoral love begin to tell among them, and spread its work of holiness! These were our thoughts, and our thoughts soon took shape and form. The schoolhouse was enlarged so as to take in a certain number of children on the foundation, and the parsonage in like proportion for a larger number of clergy."

"These thoughts" and the "College of S. Barnabas" were, it seems, the first idea of the many "clergy houses" that have since sprung up in such numbers in so many slums.

"It was," says the *Parish Choir*, on July 1, 1850, "a great experiment—for surely an experiment it is, though full of hope and promise."

On S. Barnabas' Day, 1847, after Celebration at S. Paul's, the clergy, the choir, and the school-children went down in procession. The Marquis of Westminster laid the foundation-stone of the new church. The schools were opened, and each room was blessed. Daily Morning Service and three services on Sundays were then begun in the schoolroom. £7000 were still needed. On S. Barnabas' Day, 1848, the sum wanted was £5000, and in another year £2700 had been received, and the deficit was £2300.

Finally a loan of £1000 each from two persons, without interest, enabled the church to be consecrated.

What Mr. Bennett's own contribution was does not seem recorded, but we are told, in the address of the parishioners to the Bishop, December 20, 1850—

> "We have seen the great and almost unparalleled personal sacrifices by which he placed the whole of his private fortune on the altar at the head of subscriptions for the extension of the Gospel to the poor."

As he does not contradict this, it is no doubt true. The "example aroused and awakened the sympathy of all classes," and it was no wonder that

> "special gifts flocked in to enrich and ornament our House of

God; a peal of ten bells (each bell being given by a different individual) was set up in the belfry. The Altar of stone was the gift of another. The holy vessels for the Altar, a jewelled cross, together with the font of Purbeck marble, were the gift of another. A marriage offering at S. Paul's furnished a beautiful pair of Altar candlesticks. The whole of the church throughout decorated with painted glass shows the various gifts of others; some giving individually one each, others combining to give according to their means. The corona is the gift of one most generous, a stranger to the parish. The brass eagle is the gift of another, and one very liberally presented the whole of the linen for the vestments of the clergy and choir."

Two things were there, but unpaid for: the organ and the brass gates of the rood screen. The former was naturally and speedily presented by Sir F. Ouseley, under whose direction it was built by Flight.

To all these gifts he alludes sadly and touchingly in his farewell letter.

"Look here!" he says, "every window has its tale of some noble heart that yearning for His glory has here laid his substance and his love to be set forth. It is the noble and the poor together—faithful women and little children together—here all in one contributed. Each window marks a story known not to *you*, but only to me and God. Come up hither again. Do you see the most holy place, this altar and all that lies upon it—the holy vessels, the vestments, the various preparations for the holy sacrifice? There is not one, no, not one single holy thing there lying in its sacred use but swells up the bursting heart into a memory of some deed of love of those by me, their pastor, best loved in this wide world of sin. Here are some gifts of penitents gladly of their alms-giving showing forth contrition for a youth of sin, now lately learning what they never knew before;—here gifts of the innocent in Christ—babes who yet have known but little save to love, guarded by their

angels standing before GOD in Heaven. I know each name. Come down again. This is the *Font.* There is not a chisel mark there but calls to mind the anxious hoarded alms and treasured sacrifice of her who laid it there for God's eternal use."

The total cost, exclusive of these special gifts, was £19,000. It represents, of course, a larger sum at the present day. In his sermon at the dedication festival of S. Barnabas', 1867, he seems to imply that the total cost was at least £30,000.

Till 1848 Mr. Bennett had been living at 39, Wilton Crescent. He then moved into the S. Barnabas' College, where the other clergy also lived.

"While we have been so dwelling together," he says, "we have seen, and helped in, the raising of almost every stone of the sanctuary close by, we mounted every scaffold and laid up every beam and crowned with our own hands the final work upon the highest pinnacle of the spire. The noise of axe and hammer was familiar to us as a household word, from morning to night daily, and the whole fabric grew beneath our vision as the child of dear parents grows from infancy to manhood; our very own in design, in labour, in progress, and in consummation."

The plan of "The College of S. Barnabas" is simple. In the centre, the church with its west door opening on the street; on the north side, beyond a small quadrangle, the schools; on the south side, the college or parsonage, with a part for the assistant clergy containing a sitting-room for each, and a common dining-room for all.

The architecture is of the Early English order, at that time probably regarded by Mr. Bennett as the

best or most convenient of the Gothic styles. This style, however, with its lancet windows, gives but little light. "S. Barnabas'," he writes to one of his nieces, "is too dark for London." The architect was Mr. Cundy, who had also built S. Paul's, but the style of S. Barnabas' is so different from his other work that the tradition that Pugin was also consulted by Mr. Bennett is probably correct.

The plans were all submitted to the Bishop from the beginning, and Mr. Bennett's description of his interview with his Lordship throws an amusing light on the position of affairs at that period as to the decoration of a church.

"I hardly dared to entertain the thought that" he would consecrate such a church. "I could not expect, I *did* not expect, in my own mind, that a rood screen, a chancel highly decorated, an altar of stone, diapered work and panelling throughout, painted glass in every window and gilded capitals" (what a terrible list of enormities!)—"I hardly thought that all this would pass without censure, or at least without some expression of unwillingness to stamp it with Episcopal sanction. I hardly thought that a piscina, a credence, an aumbry, sedilia, and all the furniture appertaining could pass without some words of remonstrance. I wished the Bishop personally to inspect it. Accordingly on May 2 he came. He did not like the screen as a matter of private taste, but made no objection 'as long as there was no rood (*i.e.* crucifix) on it.'"

On May 17 Mr. Bennett pleaded for a "rood cross," *i.e.* without the Figure, and though the Bishop at first strongly objected, he "ultimately gave me my way." The only point to which the Bishop permanently objected was—*the placing flowers on the*

altar. One is glad to reflect that flowers have now purged themselves from the charge of being of Romish proclivities, that the Pope is no longer supposed to lie concealed in a rosebud, that indulgences and papal bulls are no longer looked for among the petals of a lily, and that we now realize that we might have searched in vain for the Jesuit College even amidst the florets of the then newly evolved double dahlia.

On June 10 the Bishop objected to a *movable* cross upon the altar. All else had been conceded, and in view of subsequent events these concessions are to be remembered. It seems, however, that the cross remained, as it was afterwards a subject of dispute.

The work of building was at last complete.

"It is a noble work," said Archdeacon Manning in his sermon, "nobly conceived, and as nobly carried to its end; a work for God and for His poor wrought out of the costliest gifts, and with the most skilful art, in splendour and symmetry, in stateliness and beauty."

CHAPTER V

CONSECRATION OF S. BARNABAS

Tuesday, June 11, 1850.
The procession described by an eye-witness.
The service.
Sermons—
Manning.
W. Sewell.
Francis Paget.
Keble.
Hy. Wilberforce.
C. E. Kennaway.
Dr. J. M. Neale.
F. H. Bennett.
W. J. E. Bennett.
W. Gresley.
R. Eden.
W. Upton Richards.
Dr. W. H. Mill.
Dr. Pusey.
Length of these sermons.
Mr. Bennett's reminiscences of the Octave.

So, amid difficulty and enthusiasm, amid calumny and patience, amid prejudice and labour, arrived the day of the consecration of S. Barnabas', the pioneer church alike of the Catholic Movement and of the evangelization of the masses in the London slums. On Tuesday, June 11, the bells from the spire announced the day. Soon the streets, as well as the church, were crowded with the poor for whom it was built and with the rich who had for the most part provided it.

The place of meeting for the clergy was the schoolroom on the north side of the church. They numbered seventy. The choir was made up of those of S. Barnabas' and S. Paul's, Knightsbridge, with the "Children of the Chapel Royal" and some from

Westminster Abbey. The procession, starting from the quadrangle of the school, passed along the street through the crowd to the west door of the church,[1] and this procession was repeated each day throughout the Octave till the crowds made it impossible. "Let God arise" was sung by the alternate voices of men and boys to the stirring mediæval melody set for it in the "Psalter Noted." We have since become habituated to such things, but we can easily imagine that, at a time when no such scene had been witnessed by any of those present, the effect on those who listened within the church to the gradually approaching sounds was, as they remember it, thrilling. The thoughts of those who thus waited are so well described in a little book written (I know not by whom) at the time, that it would be wrong not to give its words.

"Many hearts beat with expectation and with awe and solemnity excited by the beauty of the House prepared for God; whispers of admiration and reverence alone broke the stillness. They mused as they saw—how different from their wont—not the rich only pouring in, but the poor; not pew doors fencing off and dividing, but joining and giving common space to all; no rich to be in this blessed sanctuary but those rich in good works; no poor but those poor in spirit who come to worship in the earnestness of faith.

"They mused as they saw, far from the usual wont, but strictly according to the early Christian use, the sexes separate; so that no thoughts of earthly custom should intrude, but each in its peculiar sanctity should worship, free from thoughts of earth and only looking upward to the choir of angels."

[1] The writer may perhaps be pardoned for adding that watching this procession is one of the earliest recollections of his childhood.

All commonplace enough nowadays; but to estimate Mr. Bennett's work we must see these things (as we have been trying to do) with the eyes of his contemporaries, in order to realize the originality of his ideas and his labour as a "pioneer."

After the usual ceremonies—the petition for consecration and the signing of the necessary deeds—the procession passed round the aisles and up the nave singing the psalm, "Lift up your heads," and the Bishop continued with the Prayers of Dedication. Thomas Helmore, of the Chapel Royal, sang the Mattins. The Holy Communion service was also choral, the music being by Tallis and Aldrich, and so great an innovation was it to have a Celebration at such a time, that the *Parish Choir* of the date "*rejoices to say that the Holy Communion was administered at this Consecration!*" The Bishop, of course, preached.

Then there was a feast for poor and rich in the schoolroom, "two hundred of the poor closely joining with many of the highest and the noblest in the land," among others, the Bishops of London and Salisbury (Denison), Archdeacon Manning, Earl Nelson, who still survives, Lord John Manners, and Lord Feilding.

In the evening Archdeacon Manning, hereafter to be Archbishop and Cardinal, preached one of those exquisitely worded sermons which he gave us while yet in the Church of England: "Sacrifice of self the proof of love." It is full of his favourite analysis of the life of the soul. Here is a characteristic passage—

"As in our daily works we make the light of Heaven our own by the gift of sight which receives and appropriates the universal brightness of the sun, so we must believe as an object of faith, and say, each one, '*He loved me and gave Himself for me.*' Easy to say, but hard to realize those simple words. It is easier to believe that by His omnipotence God created the world than that God loves us. For creation is a simple problem of the intellect. We can all say the world is not eternal, for then the world would be God; neither did it make itself, for that is a contradiction; therefore it had a Maker. So far intellect masters without a doubt; but that God all holy should love a soul all sin, this clashes with the consciousness of our own unworthiness. Nevertheless, it is an object of faith, and by faith to be received.

"Read it in all your lot; interpret it by all the movements of God's hand, all the vicissitudes and changes of life. All are the expression of the varying discipline of love. As you bow down over your sorrows you think them to be penal, sent in anger, signs of His departure. They are tokens of His nearness, pledges of His love. What one thing most surely tries you? That very thing is the trial you most need. What do you find hardest to endure? That is the necessary yoke which your self-love would never lay upon itself. Only trust His love with your whole life and heart; in the sharpest and sorest trials trust Him most. Look back upon your life past; until now all has been well: all will be to the end."

And here is a passage which might well be written in letters of gold—

"We are fallen upon an age of controversy, and this wordy world can drown all testimony to the truth except only the witness of visible acts. Words are transient; but acts leave their token behind them. LIVE TRUTHS AND YOU NEED SELDOM SPEAK THEM."

Such an act, such a truth, was the building of S. Barnabas' Church and College.

Truly he was then "great in the charm of a sweet-toned oratory," but those who knew those English sermons and afterwards listened to him as a Cardinal and an Archbishop—admire as they might that majestic presence—could only say of his now continuously controversial sermons, "What a falling off was there!"

An intimate acquaintance of Dr. Manning has often remarked to the writer that he saw a considerable resemblance to the Cardinal in Richmond's portrait of Mr. Bennett.

Alas! controversy was certain to loom very largely in the sermons of the day, and it could not be kept out of the sermons of this "Octave." The Hampden and Gorham cases were the burning ones of the time, and especially the latter, which was the more recent. Both are almost forgotten, so that it is worth while just to note what they were. Hampden, though his obscure Bampton Lectures (which Gladstone said he did not understand!) had been censured as heterodox by the University of Oxford, was forced on the Diocese of Hereford by Lord John Russell in 1847, against the opposition of many of the clergy and bishops. Gorham, who had been presented to a living in the Diocese of Exeter, was refused institution by "Henry of Exeter" on the ground of his denying Baptismal Regeneration. He appealed to the Privy Council, which performed on his behalf one of the most amusing of its many theological exploits. It put into his mouth doctrines which neither he nor any one else ever held, and then acquitted these opinions of being contrary to the formularies of the Church of

England. Gorham, though it is said he promptly repudiated the said imaginary doctrines, nevertheless got the living. The opinion of the Privy Council was supposed in those days to compromise the Church, and to imply that she did not teach the true doctrine of Baptism. This curious supposition sent many over to Rome; among them Manning, Dodsworth, Maskell, Badeley, R. J. Wilberforce, and Lord Feilding.

On the morning following the consecration, Wednesday, June 12, William Sewell spoke of "The Position of the Church." It is alike interesting and comforting to hear that the position, as to education at least, was sixty years ago much what it is now.

"No man can watch the signs of these times, no one measure the earthly power which God has given for a space to men with whom the very name and being of definite truth is as a dream, or hear the resolute, determined avowal of their desire to blot and blur out every trace of definite teaching from the hearts and minds of the young, in every place of education upon which they can lay their hands, in our village schools, . . . no man can see all this and think that his happiness is to last if he is faithful to his trust.

"We cannot but declare God's truth to all," he says, adding, with a forecast of the Public Worship Bill of the future, "Punish us for it and we will submit—submit patiently, cheerfully, without a movement of resistance, striving to protect the hand that persecutes us from the indignation which it will arouse throughout the Empire—but PROCLAIM GOD'S TRUTH WE WILL."

Francis Paget was the preacher on the Wednesday evening. He was one of the authors of those many tales which were so effective in spreading the principles of the Movement. His subject was "The

Church as the sojourner's Resting-place." He spoke of the church they were in—

"You have only to look around you and contrast the noisy levity and restless turmoil of the neighbouring streets with the holy calm and tranquillity of these sacred precincts, and that will be a sermon more impressive than any that can fall from human lips."

The contrast in that neighbourhood was much greater sixty years ago than it is now.

Then he gives us one more record of what was then hoped from this "new departure," as is our modern phrase.

"This college, with its church, its schools, its home for a body of clergy, is an admirable work; admirable in conception and execution, admirable as an evidence of what zeal and steadfastness may, with God's blessing, effect; better still, as an example and encouragement to the wavering and desponding; best of all, as an inroad made into the kingdom of Satan for the purpose of winning souls back to Christ, and as being, what under God I believe it will eventually be found to be, the clue to that most perplexing of all problems, how to construct a machinery which shall meet the spiritual wants of the teeming population of our large cities and re-christianize—(O shame and misery that such a thing should be said!)—re-christianize the heathen masses of a Christian country."

It was not a simple matter like the restoration of an old church. "The work done here was to be, so to speak, a *creation*."

Next, on Thursday morning, came John Keble, "On the danger of passing by Christ," as the Priest and the Levite had done in the parable. So, he thought, had *we* been doing when

"the sufferers by the wayside may be counted not by tens or by hundreds but by thousands—thousands of immortal souls and bodies wasting away in misery and sin. And this is the condition generally of the great towns and thickly peopled places of our land. Each one of us sees on each side of the way millions such as our Lord describes fallen among thieves, beset and plundered by the world, the flesh, and the Devil, stripped of their raiment, of that heavenly righteousness which, if baptized in their infancy, Christ had given them.

"The effort which is now being made in this place is but one we trust among many to bring unto God thousands of souls which have hitherto been passed by."

Henry Wilberforce, hereafter, like Manning, to desert the Church for Rome, was the speaker that evening. "Offerings for Christ's sake." He *alluded*, of course, to the offerings through which S. Barnabas' had been built, but there were, he said, other offerings to make.

"I. Offer to Him (the giving up of) your sins; let this first sacrifice cleanse and purify all others which you make for Him. II. Offer to Him your will. III. Offer to Him your self-esteem. IV. Offer to Him your money."

On the Friday morning the sermon was by the Bishop of Oxford, S. Wilberforce. There is no record of his sermon.

In the evening of Friday C. E. Kennaway discussed the "Socialism of the Early Church." As the sermon has been quoted as in favour of Socialism, it is worth while to say that his view of the community of goods in the early Christian Church is that it was not intended to be permanent.

"I. It is not now necessary. II. It is not according to the

tenor of Scripture. III. It is not expedient, nay, it is quite the reverse; for what are the incentives to exertion? Surely they are the duties which are imposed by God through the relations of society."

There would be, he thinks, no sharpening of our faculties; no object for work; worse still, no learning of generosity, no exercise of virtue, no improvement of grace. Men would be

"lulled into a dreamy and brute-like enjoyment of the satisfactions of the lower nature, and all the motives of self-denial and labour for the good of others and our own moral exaltation would be taken away."

It is curious here also to observe that Socialism seems to have been as much in men's thoughts sixty years ago as it is now.

On the Saturday morning J. M. Neale's sermon was "The Church's extremity, her Lord's opportunity," on the text, "Except these abide in the ship ye cannot be saved." The Gorham case filled his thoughts.

"This is a day of trouble and rebuke and blasphemy. . . . In our present danger, driven up and down in an *Adria* of troubles, neither the sun of God's grace nor the star of His Saints for many days appearing, we resemble the crew of that ship in which an Apostle was nevertheless found."

But we must not desert the ship.

"We also are falling into a place where two seas meet—the sea of heresy and the sea of tyrannical power. What shall we say, then, to those who choose this time for leaving us? They may go conscientiously indeed, but will they have no account to render, not for themselves only, but for weakening our hands and discouraging our hearts?"

On that evening F. H. Bennett, brother of the "Perpetual Curate," preached on "The Christian's place of refuge and true home on earth." His text was, "There shall be a tabernacle for a shadow in the daytime from the heat, and for a place of refuge and for a covert from storm and rain." Isaiah, he tells us, is here prophetically describing one of the offices of Christ's Church: to be a place of refuge from the troubles of the world.

"You may know, brethren, perhaps, what it is when tried by the secret unkindness of false friends or the open opposition of men among whom you would fain dwell peaceably, or the cruel opposition of those for whom you would gladly 'spend and be spent' (at least, we the ministers of Christ for the most part well know it); you may know what it is then to have a quiet peaceful home whither you may partake yourselves in confidence, where you may surely find ready at your call kind and sympathizing and loving hearts; you may know what it is, when oppressed by power wielded unjustly, to have a mighty friend and guardian to whom you may go, hiding yourselves under the shadow of his wings; you may know perhaps what it is (for so all earthly things may serve faintly to symbolize the things of the spirit) when storm and tempest have been beating on your brow, or the fierce heat of the mid-day sun has scorched you at your labour, to have a covert opportunely prepared under which you may stand securely, or a shadow into whose coolness the heat cannot penetrate. This, and much more than this, is Christ's Holy Church and Christ in His Church to the wearied, the poor, the wayworn, the afflicted, the harassed, the perplexed."

And since this is true of the Church because God is in her, it applies also to the churches in which we worship. He is specially present in them,

which thought leads us to the following interesting passage :—

"If you realize this truth you will see the meaning of all that is done here, you will understand and appreciate the beauty and power of the ordinances and ceremonies of the Church which will be here observed, the force of that peculiarly suppliant tone in which your prayers will be here offered up —the Church's tone of earnest entreaty[1]—the suitableness of that careful attention which is here shown that all may be done reverently, 'decently, and in order.' You will feel that as it was no unmeet expenditure of money which has been lavished so freely and willingly in beautifying this place and making it 'exceeding magnifical'; so it is no unmeet expenditure of labour and anxious thought which will be as freely and gladly lavished, God willing, in rendering its holy services such as will awaken and keep alive the true spirit of warm-hearted devotion; such as will come home directly to the loving soul and let each simple worshipper depart awestruck yet comforted, humbled yet rejoicing; whispering perhaps to himself in solemn thankfulness, as one has been heard to say, '*This is indeed the house of God.*'"

The last words allude to the exclamation of a stranger as he left the church after joining in one of the Octave services, and wonderfully illustrate the difference between S. Barnabas' and the usual church of that day.

On the Sunday morning within the Octave the "Perpetual Curate" himself preached: "The people warned."

God, he tells us, has always made His communications to the world—warned it—by MEN—men selected and appointed for the purpose; and he describes the

[1] *τῆς ἐκκλησίας φωνή.*

dangers of those messengers in a passage well worthy of the remembrance of those who now occupy that position.

"Thus you hear the Scriptures speak :—Describing *carelessness:* 'His watchmen are blind; they are all ignorant; they are all dumb dogs; they cannot bark; sleeping, lying down, loving to slumber.' Describing *collusion with the people:* 'A wonderful and horrible thing is committed in the land. The prophets prophesy falsely and the priests bear rule by their means, and My people love to have it so—and what will ye do in the end thereof?' Describing *collusion with sin:* 'They have healed the hurt of the daughter of My people slightly, saying, Peace, peace, when there is no peace.' Describing *the necessity of not being afraid:* 'And thou, son of man, be not afraid of them, neither be afraid of their words; though briars and thorns be with thee and thou dost dwell among scorpions, be not afraid of their words nor be dismayed at their looks, though they be a rebellious people.' Describing the sin of *soft, ambiguous, and clouded expressions,* whereby virtue and vice, right and wrong, are not set forth to the people with precision: 'Her priests have violated My law, and have profaned My holy things; they have put no difference between the holy and the profane, neither have they showed difference between the unclean and the clean, and have hid their eyes from My sabbaths, and I am profaned among them.' Describing *a covetous and mercenary disposition:* 'The heads thereof judge for reward, and the priests thereof teach for hire, and the prophets divine for money; yet will they lean upon the Lord, and say, Is not the Lord among us?' Describing the *punishment of those who fail in the performance of their commission,* as in the text: 'If the watchman see the sword come, and blow not the trumpet and the people be not warned; if the sword come and take away any person from among them, he is taken away in his iniquity, *but his blood will I require at the watchman's hand.*'"

His next "warning" is as to the state of London;

then he wonders whether there was a larger proportion of "righteous" in London than the ten out of the inhabitants of Sodom who would have been sufficient to save that city.

Another "warning" is as to the usurpations of the State in matters of doctrine. He complains of the Privy Council as an incompetent Court to settle doctrine.

"Unbelievers may sit in judgment on questions of doctrine in the Church of Christ, and saints be taught their creed by infidels."

Lastly, he describes the privileges which those who were priests at S. Barnabas' had in living under the very shadow of the church's roof, and asks their prayers that they, the watchmen, may be equal to the responsibility.

"Pray that we may be as beautiful within as this house where we serve is beautiful without.

"What is forced upon our minds while we look around us here? Of what are all these beautiful things, which you, the rich, have given us, the types and memorials? We look upon the screen separating the sanctuary from the nave—the one the place of worship for the people, the other for the ministers of God. This separation reminds us that we are no longer what we were, that we have taken upon ourselves *special vows*, entering the Holy of Holies, pledged to serve the living GOD, ever close by and with Him, in His very presence—woe be to us if we fulfil them not! We look upon that *crown of light*" (he alludes to the "corona") "shining forth in its glory. This crown reminds us of the martyr's glory as a *crown*, and asks whether *we*, should we be called upon, would be ready and willing for the martyr's crown, in suffering unto death for our Master's Kingdom? We look upon those windows of

harmonious colour, full of Scripture illustration, and each of them asks of us a question. In the *west, God's law and the Prophets*—are we ready to preach that law and live in it? In the *east*, the *passion* of our Lord—are we ready to join in that passion, to be crucified to the world and the world crucified to us? In the *north*, Christ's wonderful works—are we ready to realize His great power and glory in those works? In the *south*, His beautiful teaching, such teaching as never mere man could have devised—are we ready to take up that teaching, pursue it, explain it in our sermons, follow it in our lives?"

On that evening William Gresley considered "The commission of God's ministers with reference to present times." His point was that they must preach the whole gospel, however some parts may be out of fashion at any time.

Robert Eden, Mr. Bennett's old school and college friend, who was in the following year made Bishop of Moray and Ross, spoke on the Monday morning on "The sin and danger of faithlessness and impatience in the present crisis of the Church." His sermon is an admirable dissuasive from leaving the Church of England for Rome. "The disease and the sin of the Church of England is the prostration of her discipline." He quotes "the powerful and truthful words of a modern writer," who after convincingly defending the Church of England, "went over," and then tried in vain to refute himself.

That evening W. Upton Richards, afterwards of All Saints', Margaret Street, spoke of "The danger of riches," a very suitable subject for a very large portion of the audience.

Next morning the preacher was Dr. W. H. Mill, Regius Professor of Hebrew at Cambridge: "Church restoration in times of difficulty." He drew his lesson from the work of Nehemiah.

Finally, in the evening of that the last day of the memorable Octave, Dr. Pusey, Regius Professor of Hebrew at Oxford, wound up the series of sermons with one most characteristic of his learning and his love: "God withdraws in loving-kindness also."

The Song of Songs supplied his text, "My Beloved had withdrawn Himself, and was gone." The troubles about Hampden and Gorham which had come on the Church were like the Beloved withdrawing Himself in the Song. Contemporary events seem to all of us much greater than they really are, and we almost smile to hear that the Gorham judgment, "even though this heavy judgment is not yet the judgment of the Church," was a "stunning blow." How few of us in these days have even heard of it! Still fewer of Dr. Hampden and the heresy of his Bampton Lectures! But the great Doctor's advice remains good for all time—

"What, then, is to be done? What did the *bride* do? Opened her heart wherein she had closed it, sought her Lord in the streets and lanes of the city, unheeding, though the keepers of the city beat her, redoubling her cries, because the Lord seemed not to hear her."

Then he applies to ourselves this conduct of the bride—

"Let us each look wherein *we* may have been the

cause of this evil. Let us seek out our Lord as He has been sought *here*" (at S. Barnabas'), "in the streets and lanes of our cities, where His members lie neglected to perish in their sins. Let us at least save one soul, our own. Yet we cannot save our own if we be careless of our brethren's. Above all, part with nothing thou hast ever believed as truth, ever hoped to do, ever done to the service of God, or (ever done) to become, by His grace, more pleasing in His sight.

"Let us not doubt Him who has healed us; let us not distrust Him who has fed us; let us not lose hope in Him who has called us; but the more man fails us the more let us cleave to God. Were He not *with* us, we could not even long for Him. Were He not *present*, we could not even mourn His absence. Were He not in our hearts, we could not even feel that our hearts were cold.

"And if for thyself or the Church 'the waters enter into thy soul and thine eyes fail for looking upward,' remember how His eyes were glazed on the cross for thee, remember His mysterious cry, 'My God, My God, why hast Thou forsaken Me?' Remember how in that hour He, for thy sake, and as an example to thee in bearing that deepest suffering, withheld from His soul the consolations of the Godhead with which it was personally united, and allowed not the streams of His everlasting joy, with which He gladdened all the heavenly hosts, to come down upon His mind; how at that hour He, amid all the weight of human sin and weakness and misery, was bearing thine own; and so unite thine own anew with His; cry to Him too, 'My God, my God, why hast Thou forsaken me?' and the merits of His Passion shall encompass thee and His Blood shall cleanse thee; and while thou so cleavest to Him, neither 'life, nor death, nor angels, nor principalities, nor powers,' yea, not that very faintness of thine own heart, 'shall separate thee from the love of God which is in Christ Jesus our Lord.'"

The crowd was so great on this last evening, on account of the great desire to hear Dr. Pusey's

sermon, that Mr. Bennett and Dr. Pusey, at the end of the procession, became separated from the rest, and had to get to their places in the chancel through the vestry door. "Carriage after carriage was obliged to drive away without being able to set down their occupants." Some of the crowd, aggrieved that they could not get in, and suspecting a preference for the rich, became somewhat threatening, but Mr. Bennett went to the door and explained that there was absolutely no such preference. On this the murmurs subsided.

It has been thought worth while thus to detail these sermons, because they include most of the prominent and representative men of the party at that time. They show us how *they* viewed the events of their time; what *they* expected and hoped from the Movement, and particularly what they hoped from the work of S. Barnabas' and of its children that were to be; what were the matters which then occupied the minds of the party of restoration.

There was no scheme in them as a series, but each took the subject which he preferred, without consultation with others or with Mr. Bennett. They were collected by him into a volume, with a preface which is most touching, for when he wrote it it is evident that the troubles had already begun. The only omissions from the collection were those of the two Bishops, who with characteristic timidity and caution refused to allow their names and sermons to be inserted with the others.

Two minor points are worth noting with respect to them: (1) Like almost all other sermons of those days, they were delivered from MS.—and, we may add, were doubtless none the worse for that; (2) they were much longer than the usual sermon of the present day. The *average* length of time which they must have taken to preach could not have been less than from fifty minutes to an hour. Dr. Neale's is the shortest, and would have taken at least thirty minutes. Mr. Bennett could scarcely have delivered his (he spoke, like all other wise preachers and speakers, somewhat deliberately) in less than seventy-five minutes, and Dr. Pusey, whose sermon is the longest, must have occupied quite an hour and twenty minutes in preaching his.

"'Great was the company of the preachers'—no lukewarm hearts, no fainting spirits *then*," Mr. Bennett says sadly afterwards, "but full of zeal and gladness they preached the Word of God to our people, as they were severally moved, in the great emergencies of our perilous times.

"No one," he remarks, in his preface to the volume, "who might look at S. Barnabas' Church—its whole tone and character; the whole of its general aspect and preparation; its rood screen surmounted by the great cross, its sedilia, credence, piscina, altar lights, altar cross, elaborate painting, diapering, and every other kind of decoration—no one could look on this, and then, going on a few days further, could look at another beautiful church, S. Stephen's, Westminster, built and endowed by a single individual,[1] equally enriched and ornamented, equally set forth in beauty of diapering and painted glass and other ornaments—no one could look at this singular combination of two churches, closely situated and at one time

[1] Miss, afterwards Lady, Burdett Coutts.

consecrated, but would at once see that the principle of objective teaching was now fairly recognized by the English Church; and that henceforward the age of white-washed walls and plaster of Paris had for ever departed. No one seeing all this could ever more hereafter censure him who pursued forms and ceremonial usages to their justified and proper extent, making them, as the Church of course would have them, the means of promoting among men the beauty of holiness, the sanctity of worship, and the unity of faith.

"For myself" (so he concludes this preface), "were a hundred years to pass—even as the work of our Octave passed, in one continued sweet adoration of GOD—the memory of that holy week would meet with no diminution of delight. The solemn chant, 'Let GOD arise, and let His enemies be scattered,' the long procession of the choir and priests, headed[1] by the Bishop; the crowding of the people, some of curiosity, some of fear, some of love; the swelling organ, taking up the joyful responses of the people in the choral harmony of Eucharistic praise; the Catholic hymn, *Cœlestis Urbs Jerusalem*, sung by the whole congregation, night after night, in one continued note of religious joy,—all these as points of sweet remembrance, still linger in the mind. And then throughout the week, day by day, so many kneeling at the altar, which they had with patient alms-deeds contributed to raise; so many there, in humble thanksgiving, receiving of the Spirit of God, His blessing on their work. And then, to crown all, the poor joyfully meeting with the rich; and Dives cheerfully sitting down to meat with Lazarus; and Belgrave Square literally coming down to the lanes and alleys of the poor and joining with them in common festival. All this *at last*, after seven years' thought and four years labour—once a dream of the possible, now the realization of long-formed hopes—all this would have been enough to say that no better end could have happened to him who writes these lines than *then*, in the perfection of that joy—before the troublous times had come and the dark shadows which now appear on the

[1] This piece of correct English ritual is worth noticing.

horizon had set in—before the tide of popular favour and the love of a vain multitude had turned—before the Church had begun to deny herself and to forget her own; before this—even *then*—it had been better, even for all, as well as for himself, that God (if such had been His will) had taken him to his rest."

CHAPTER VI

SUNSHINE ENDING IN STORM

The bright hopes of the early days.
The beginning of troubles.
Attitude of the Bishop.
Complaints innumerable.
An amusing specimen.
Prayers for the dead.
Gorham for a week stops the works at S. Barnabas'.
Fresh accusations.
The fatal pledge.
Three months' delusive peace.
A new letter from the Bishop.
Oct. 30. The second pledge to resign.
Nov. 2. Bishop's charge.
The sisterhood.
The remainder of the story.
Dec. 4. Definite resignation.
A very queer transaction.
Resignation accepted.

With the consecration of S. Barnabas' what has been truly called "the second stage" of the Oxford Movement was fairly begun. It placed before the world clearly and definitely the ideas of the Movement as to what the ritual and worship of the Church of England ought to be. "Others were supposed to go beyond us," says the present Warden of S. Michael's College, then a member of the choir at S. Barnabas'—and it is probably Oakeley and Dodsworth who are thus remembered—but their attempts were necessarily on a smaller scale, and although considerable advances seem to have been made at S. Andrew's, Wells Street, by 1849, nothing had been done in so large an arena and in so prominent a manner as at S. Barnabas'.

All seemed for a time bright and beautiful and prosperous, and at no time in the history of the Church of England were the words more applicable than to the earnest Churchmen of those days—the early days of the Catholic revival—

> "They sing a service which they feel :
> For 'tis the sunrise now of zeal,
> And faith and hope are in their prime."

But we have now, alas! to relate the troubles which ended in the exile of Mr. Bennett from his own beloved work. They go back a long way in the story, and coming events began to cast their shadows so far back as 1847. Already at that time, 1847, Mr. Bennett tells us "the theology and the principles of the Oxford teaching began to grow out of fashion."

The Bishop of London had, as we have seen, commended ritual observances to his clergy in his charge of 1842, but by 1847 there was a considerable change in his attitude. "His opinions," says Mr. Bennett, "were now leaning manifestly to the Protestant side of the Church." He was no doubt a most amiable prelate, but of unfortunate timidity in character and a wobbler in policy. He listened too easily to the many absurd statements that were made to him. Complaints poured in upon him about everything in the least new or unusual, and Mr. Bennett's life at S. Paul's was "one continuous battle." The position was, it must be ever remembered, made more difficult by the very standpoint of those who were attacked. To disobey a Bishop

was with them impossible. The Islington clergy disobeyed their Bishop without a qualm of conscience, but such defiance was impossible to those whose very bond of union to the Church was the Apostolical Succession, and to whom that doctrine was a great reality.

"There was," Mr. Bennett says, "a strange cross in the path which I had taken; and, more strange still, that cross arising from the very quarter whence most one had looked for encouragement.

"Some arose to complain and some to expostulate and some to get us back to what they called the old-fashioned ways of the Church, and some began to speak of Popery and Rome; and many plotting in secret would write anonymous letters to the Bishop, asserting either things which they really thought they saw, deceived by the vigour of their own imagination, or inventing what they did not see, tempted by the desire of mischief."

He gives an amusing specimen of these letters—

"Knightsbridge, January 7, 1847.

"My Lord Bishop,

"As a resident Protestant of Knightsbridge, and an attendant with my numerous family to S. Paul's Church, I have of late, with grief, witnessed those errors (as I conceive) in the simple rules laid down in our Reformed Established Church, and which I am fearful would embue in my youthful family Romish doctrine. We have for the present withdrawn ourselves from attending the said church, and humbly implore your Lordship to cause a searching investigation to the unhappy practices there, ere I return with my family to S. Paul's.

"I am, my Lord Bishop, your obedient servant,

"William Roberts."

Needless to say, this person with his numerous and

youthful family and his surprising use of prepositions existed in imagination alone, and the only result was a protest on the part of Mr. Bennett and his curates —Henry Stretton, C. C. Spencer, George Nugee, and Henry Sandham—of their undiminished love to the Church of England.

Mr. Bennett proposed to print the correspondence which he had with the Bishop about this. The Bishop, who "really feared Mr. Bennett was carrying things too far," objected to the publication of the letters on the ground that "the private communications of a Bishop with his clergy ought not to be handed about amongst their people." It would have been well, as we shall see hereafter, if his Lordship had always kept to this rule.

Between 1847 and 1849 nothing special occurred "further than the usual constant murmurings of the ignorant and prejudiced." But in February, 1849, "one individual succeeded in obtaining the Bishop's ear, and thence issued, as before, another tiresome and wearing contest." This was the letter already mentioned, one complaint of which was that Mr. Bennett had *five* separate services; the rest of it contained no accusation worse than that the Perpetual Curate expressed a wish in his sermon of December 17, 1848, that the Church were separated from the State.

The year 1849 brought with it a more troublesome and more interesting correspondence with the Bishop. It arose from the outbreak of cholera of which we have already spoken.

"At that period," says Mr. Bennett, "I thought it my duty, among other means of comfort, to draw up a little form of prayer, which might be used as occasion served in the houses of the poor. It had long been my habit to pray for the souls of the departed. I could not conceive any realization of the Universal Church—the oneness of that Church—without conceiving that the dead in Christ were not altogether separated from us, nor beyond the reach of our sympathy, nor on either side they for us or we for them, without help in prayer. For our dear departed friends, relations, parents, wife, husband, for all whom we have any reason to commemorate or to love I had thought that it was our Catholic privilege to pray, ever reading of this practice in the Fathers, seeing it confirmed in the Universal Church, receiving it even as a natural impulse of an affectionate heart, and convinced that unless we practised it one of the main consolations of the miseries of this world would be withdrawn. Therefore in the impulse of the distress which I saw around me, in speaking of the dead I suggested prayer for the repose of their souls as one source of consolation in the raging of the pestilence. This form of prayer I enclosed in a letter to the Bishop. No notice was taken by way of objection for some time. At length the newspaper press, which seems, alas, to govern all things among us now, sent forth its decree of condemnation against my form of prayer."

The Bishop wrote to Mr. Bennett on September 19, 1849, objecting to the words—

"For the souls of those departed in the faith of Thy holy Name, that they may have their perfect consummation and bliss."

And in his postscript he says—

"Upon looking a second time at your prayers I see that you pray for the dead *generally:* Have pity on living and dead."

His Lordship thought that the words in the Burial

Service took it for granted that all such as had departed in the faith *would* have their perfect consummation and bliss, and that the prayer was therefore only for ourselves. The more general prayer he thought "still more indefensible."

On this Mr. Bennett wrote defending prayer for the dead by the practice of many of the great divines of the English Church—Bramhall, Wilson, Usher, Hammond, Barrow, Thorndike, Forbes, Hicks, Field, and Jeremy Taylor—and mentioned the custom of the learned Dr. Johnson. He pointed out also that even the Court of Arches had decided that prayer for the dead is not contrary to the formularies of the Church of England, and that as regards the words chiefly objected to, "have pity on living and dead," they were taken directly from the Devotions of Bishop Andrewes.

The Bishop replied that the authorities quoted had no weight with him; he thought it to be clearly shown that the mind of the Church is against the use of such prayers by the fact of her having carefully excluded them from the place which they once occupied in her liturgy, and by the condemnation of them in the homilies. So he called upon Mr. Bennett to cancel them.

This Mr. Bennett declined to do, and the correspondence continued till January 24, 1850, Mr. Bennett concluding with the testimony of "the present Bishop of S. Asaph"—

"To pray for the dead was the dictate of human nature and the practice of the Early Church; and no reasonable

Christian will blame Dr. Johnson for the cautious manner in which he mentions his mother in his prayers."—Short's "History of the Church of England," p. 16.

He mentions that he was "fortified by the counsel and singular coincidence of opinion with myself of one whose name is dear to the Church." No doubt Dr. Pusey is meant.

Soon a new trouble arose.

"The position, altogether vexatious and harassing, was rendered more and more intolerable by the fearful judgment in the celebrated case of Mr. Gorham.

"I had been occupied very much and very anxiously on the subject of Mr. Gorham's heresy for many months. I had called together a certain number of the parishioners and stated to them that unless the Church could be delivered from the taint of heresy, it would be impossible for me as well as many others to remain in the charge of our cures. The consternation and alarm into which the judgment of the Privy Council threw all those who were desirous of adhering to the Catholic Church, you remember. I had been labouring with Dr. Pusey, Mr. Keble, Archdeacon Manning and others in framing resolutions of defence, protests, and other (as we thought) saving clauses, so that we might conscientiously retain our position in the Church. To them it was the mere outward controversy of the Church; to me it was also the climax of a long series of trouble, vexation, and contest in my own parish."

The position was such that, at this time—

"in great doubt and perplexity, for one whole week the works at S. Barnabas' stood still; orders were given to the architect to stay the whole proceeding; it seemed impossible to go further."

But an interview with the Bishop seems to have relieved his mind.

"I felt I might more safely proceed with the works of S. Barnabas'. Time worked its usual fruits; we became gradually soothed. The works did proceed."

All these events, previous to the consecration, were but heralds of the storm to come. Then for the Octave the sun shone brightly enough; but only

"three weeks after the good began the evil. On July 1 began that fatal correspondence which placed me," he says, "outside of the Church of my twenty years' priesthood—banished and shut out from all my habits and thoughts of long years—in a barren and dry land where no water is; without a flock, without an altar, without a settled place, without a home."

The letter which Mr. Bennett received from the Bishop, dated July 1, complained of "further deviations from the ordinary forms of our Church." These were: eastward position of celebrant and also of gospeller and epistoler; not giving the Cup into the hands of the communicants; putting the Bread into their mouths; the Invocation at commencement of sermon, "which seems to be adopted simply from its being a practice of the Church of Rome"; and that the other clergy then crossed themselves. Another accusation was that he had administered Extreme Unction.

All this was "from accounts which have reached me." In reality, what had happened was this: Mr. Spencer, senior curate, could not agree with some details of ritual, and wished to resign. On going to the Bishop for that purpose, his Lordship, against his

will (as he says), had insisted on his telling him what these details were.

Mr. Bennett's reply to the Bishop's letter was: That he had never administered Unction to any one; that he had used the eastward position for five years past at S. Paul's; and it had been conceded to Richards, Murray, Dodsworth, and others; that there are no directions *against* the assistant ministers standing where they pleased; that the giving the Elements not into the hands had only been in the case of six persons, two of whom were converted Roman Catholics; that to object to the Invocation merely because it is used by the Church of Rome is a principle which would abolish all the faith. He defends the use of the sign of the cross—

"It seems to come so naturally from the Baptismal font. It seems so called for in this age of unbelief and worldliness. Where the true Christian could be found to object to it is beyond me to imagine."

Then he continues—

"But, my Lord, what a miserable thing this is—to be so continually watched, pried into, hunted down, complained of, accused unjustly, everything done and said suspected, even the priest's visit to the dying bed the subject of a 'railing accusation.'"

Then, alas, comes the fatal pledge—

"If you think, upon reading what I have said, that the picture of my mind is not that which could justify my remaining in your Lordship's diocese, I am ready and willing to depart. *As my own spiritual adviser*, as well as the Church's guardian, I leave myself in your Lordship's hands."

He meant this to be a private communication to the Bishop.

"I was laying open before him for advice my secret mind. I doubted my position. I was compelled to entertain the question, 'Am I really a sound member of the English Church?' I wanted his help *privately*. What help he gave me, what advice he gave me, how he entered into my wounded and harassed feelings, you" (the parishioners) "were, no less than myself, astonished to see, when you read the publication of a correspondence, such as I have described, in the *Times*, and remember that when *I* solicited permission to publish, it was denied me on the ground of 'the communications between the Bishop and his clergy not being fit to be handed about among their people.'"

No answer came from the Bishop for three months. In the mean time there was peace—delusive peace. Then events succeeded one another with startling rapidity.

First came the unexpected bombshell exploded by his Holiness the Pope—commonly called the "Papal Aggression." On September 24, 1850, he issued a Bull appointing Bishops of the Roman Communion with titles from sees in England, instead of the Vicars Apostolic, who had previously acted in some such capacity. This Bull was published in the newspapers in the beginning of October. Instantly all England was in an uproar. The blame was laid on the Tracts and the Puseyites, on Mr. Bennett and S. Barnabas'. The Oxford Movement went out of favour. The rats promptly deserted the ship which was supposed to be sinking.

The Bishop, roused from peace and terrified at the

"alarms and excursions" which now commenced, mingled in the fray and cleared himself of complicity with Popery by an answer, dated October 18, to Mr. Bennett's letter of July 15. He reiterated his objections to certain practices and, as far as he could, ordered Mr. Bennett to give them up.

On October 30 Mr. Bennett replied. His letter gives clearly his reasons for finally resigning his post at S. Barnabas'.

"It grieves me to say that, having conscientiously considered all the bearings of the matter, I am unable to withdraw or alter anything that I have said or done. The principles themselves, as above" (*i.e.* in his former letters) "described, you would not ask me to abandon; and I also feel that not abandoning the principles and yet abandoning the practices founded upon them, I should be a mere hypocrite in God's sight. There would be such a loss of consistency and steadfastness of purpose in the eyes of my parishioners as would cause me deservedly to lose all their confidence and support and utterly destroy my usefulness in the pastoral office. On the other hand, I have very great reluctance to disturb the peace of the Church, if so it must be. I dread becoming the occasion of any legal prosecution or running the risk of ecclesiastical proceedings. I think it my bounden duty to sacrifice all that belongs to myself rather than place your Lordship under the necessity of appealing to any such means for correcting that which in your opinion is wrong. Therefore my conclusion is in this difficulty, as it was in my previous letter of July 15, that I ought, if called upon, to resign my living. I would then put it to your Lordship in this way: I would say, If your Lordship should be of continued opinion, seeing and knowing me as you now do, that I am guilty of unfaithfulness to the Church of England; and if your Lordship will after that signify your judgment as Bishop, that it would be for the peace and better ordering of that portion of

the Church which is under your Episcopal charge that I should no longer serve in the living of S. Paul's, I would then, the very next day, send you a formal resignation."

The next event was that the Bishop refused to ordain a curate on Mr. Bennett's nomination. "It was, of course, an effectual way of putting an end to my ministrations at S. Barnabas'," says Mr. Bennett.

Then came, on November 2, the Bishop's charge.

"The latter part of this bore reference to Romanist tendencies and ritual observances said to be in imitation of the Church of Rome. It decried certain ceremonial observances as 'almost histrionic,' which gave to the editor of a popular publication which deals in jests an opportunity of exhibiting one of the most blasphemous and atrocious engravings and caricatures[1] which have been on record in London for many years."

Next in the charge came a reference to the sisterhood established in the parish.

"I deprecate," said his Lordship, "the establishment of any society of females which shall have almost every peculiarity of a nunnery but the name."

Then followed an accusation of receiving sisters against the wishes of their parents. This, as the Bishop admitted, had reference, among other cases, to Miss Law, daughter of the Recorder of London. She had a strong wish for the religious life, and applied to Mr. Bennett for his help, and wished to work in his parish, and in the end did so. In consequence

[1] This is apparently not in *Punch*, and cannot be traced, though there is a "playbill" accusing Mr. Bennett of "Histrionics." But it cannot be described in the words Mr. Bennett uses. There is no "*engraving*" in it.

of what the Bishop said in his charge, all sorts of "dreadful accusations were afloat." On this, Miss Law and her brother-in-law wrote to the Bishop and showed clearly that Mr. Bennett told Miss Law in the strongest terms that she ought to do nothing without her parents' consent; that her father, who at first opposed her joining a sisterhood, fully consented before his death; that her mother was always a "*willing consenting party*" to her joining; that Mr. Bennett was on intimate terms of friendship with her father and the whole family throughout, and at her father's own request ministered to him during his last illness; that so far from neglecting her home duties Miss Law was with and nursed her father through his last illness. Thus this accusation was disposed of.

On November 10 began the riots at S. Barnabas', but it will be conducive to clearness in our story if we describe them and their causes in another chapter, and finish here the story of Mr. Bennett's resignation, with which the *Riots* had little or nothing to do. No *riots* would ever have made *him* resign.

On November 16 the Bishop again wrote, calling on Mr. Bennett to give up the disputed ritual; again, in consequence of the riots, pressing for an answer on November 22.

Mr. Bennett replied on the following day that—

"seeing that at the present time I am under external pressure from a mob and under threats from persons not my own parishioners, which amount in some cases to bodily violence, it is my intention at present not to make the slightest alteration

in anything that has been done at our church for the last five months."

This was obviously the true policy, and it would have been well if the same course had always been followed in other cases of mob violence.

On the 27th the Bishop again called on him to give up the ritual in question or else fulfil his promise to resign.

Mr. Bennett answered, on December 4, that he concluded from the Bishop's so calling upon him, that the Bishop was, as expressed in Mr. Bennett's letter,

"of continued opinion that I am guilty of unfaithfulness to the Church of England," and that the Bishop "thereupon signified his judgment that it is for the peace and better ordering of that portion of the Church which was under the Bishop's charge" that Mr. Bennett should resign. "Accordingly," he says, "I now redeem the pledge, and hereby send you my resignation of the perpetual curacy of S. Paul's, Knightsbridge."

Such was the effect of respect for Episcopal authority in the early days of the Movement. If no one would make such a pledge nowadays, or, being made, redeem it, whose is the fault?

Then came a most curious event. On December 11 Mr. Bennett received a letter from the Bishop at 12 o'clock which was dated December 9. He opened it and read it in the presence of the churchwardens at half-past one. It was found to terminate abruptly without any signature. He waited till half-past six in the expectation that the Bishop would discover the omission and send the missing sheet. But at half-past six appeared a note from the Bishop saying that

he presumed Mr. Bennett had no objection to the letters of December 4 and 9 being published. Mr. Bennett sent back a note by the servant to explain about the missing part of the letter, and also said that *he* should publish the whole of the correspondence.

Having thus received on December 11 part of a letter dated December 9, he was not a little astonished to find in the *Times* of December 12—the next morning—

"the Bishop's version of the whole correspondence, in *ex parte* extracts, and, not only that, but a violent leading article commenting on and criticizing the two letters.

"It would appear," he says, "almost impossible that the Bishop had sent the letters to the *Times*, *before he sent them to me.* He sent his last letter to me so hurriedly that he left out the last sheet. It was delivered to me on December 11, though written on December 9. Where had it been these two days? It would appear, and, unless it shall be contradicted by some person worthy of credit, it must be held as a matter of belief, that the letter—the expected letter, sent to me on the 11th—had been in the hands of the editor of the *Times* previous to its being in my own hands; so that a march was stolen upon me before I could possibly take any measures of reply or defence. The *public*—that great court of appeal in Episcopal matters—the public were regaled with a violent attack upon me to suit the popular prejudices of 'No Popery,' while I was left stranded and helpless, in ignorance of all that had happened. And, moreover, observe this: at half-past six in the evening preceding a letter had come—'I presume you have no objection'—when, alas! it was too late."

In short, the editor of the *Times* had blundered somehow, and "given the Bishop away" by not sending on the letter as soon and as *complete* as he should

have done, and so let out the secret of this charming little arrangement!

And all this after the Bishop's telling Mr. Bennett, "*The private communications of a Bishop with his clergy ought not to be handed about amongst their people.*"

"I shall say nothing further on this head," Mr. Bennett drily concludes, "only should it ever again be my lot to be placed under Episcopal superintendance, I shall be more wary in the manner of my correspondence."

In this manner the Bishop accepted Mr. Bennett's resignation, and "Mr. Bennett was cast out as a sop to Cerberus."

CHAPTER VII

THE RIOTS AT S. BARNABAS'

Nov. 3. Mr. Bennett's prophecies.
The inwardness of the outcry exposed.
Nov. 4. The first prophecy fulfilled.
The Durham Letter.
Nov. 9. The Lord Mayor's Feast. *Politic* speeches. Guildhall nonsense.
The letter to the Prime Minister. Description of the riots.
Nov. 10. The second prophecy fulfilled. Commencement of the riots.
Nov. 17. A worse riot.
Dec. 5. Lord Ashley.
Punch.
Street inscriptions.
Nov. 24. "The Triumph of Charity."
Dec. 1. First Sunday in Advent.
Dec. 8. The Climax.
The sermon that saved the church from being wrecked.

THE Bishop's charge was delivered at S. Paul's Cathedral on November 2. On the next day, the Twenty-third Sunday after Trinity, Mr. Bennett preached at S. Paul's, Knightsbridge, "on the appointment of bishops of the Roman Communion in England." He called his sermon "The Contests of Schism." Having spoken of the strong feeling in the early Church about the necessity of unity within itself, and of the indifference of the present time on the subject, he turned to "The Papal Aggression." He pointed out the tendency of all the modern legislation to free all sorts of believers from any civil disabilities, and to the coming admission of Jews to Parliament, the utter inconsistency of the present outcry with the

latitudinarianism of the day, and with the cases of Hampden and Gorham, and the fault in ourselves in not having appointed more bishops of our own communion. Therefore, while he spoke with sadness of the fact that now for the first time there was a rival Episcopate in England, he advised his hearers to have nothing to do with the agitation. He ended by laying bare the real truth about the outcry, seeing only too clearly to the bottom of it.

"No, brethren, it is very clear that there are other motives and reasons at work in the instigators of the clamor about papal aggression and foreign bishops. It cannot be that we are thus violently stirred up for the love of religion or the anxiety we have of a sudden kindled within us for the spiritual welfare of our souls. There is a deeper policy at work than this."

Then he ventured a remarkable prophecy, only too surely fulfilled—

"Let me say it to you again and again, it is no question of religion, none whatever. The people who make this cry, and specially those who lead it, are not thinking of the good of men's souls. They use that word 'religion' for a cloak. It is their own interests and their politics that they are caring for. Oh, be not deceived to join the ranks of the miserable and deluded crowd which will presently rise up under this excitement and violate the spirit of Christ. Do not mix yourselves with the pestilent movers of every evil passion of men blowing the trumpet of religion to cover doing the most uncharitable act that this country will ever witness. Keep aloof, I beseech you, from all subscribing of papers and all meetings and speeches of the movers of this odious conspiracy against the Church; believe me that under the guise of Rome it is the Church, generally, as a Church, whose downfall these men are seeking. It is not Rome and

her religion, as peculiar to her, that has made the 'Aggression'; it is the Church of Christ. And it is not against the liberties of England that this 'Aggression' is made, but it is against the tyranny of the world and the wickedness of Mammon. Just as you were before, in the case of Baptismal Regeneration, asleep to its vital doctrine and careless of its grace, and suddenly a heresy awoke you, and now you seem committed to it for ever by your own apathy, so you have been asleep for three centuries in the Erastian slumber of a State Establishment, and, suddenly awakening, find to your cost that probably, ere long, great portions of the poor of your people will be won over to another division of the fold of Christ because you persisted in not giving them pastors and bishops of their own.

"*Politicians will make this great event a cause of political agitation, because it will furnish them with a ready handle to work some occult mischief under the excitement of popular prejudice.*

"*Puritans and State Protestants will make it a convenient subject of outcry against that little portion of the Church which ignores the State and works solely for its Divine and Spiritual Head, which is Christ Jesus our Lord.*"

It is not recorded whether the Prime Minister was present and heard the words of the first paragraph of the prophecy, but the very next day he fulfilled them to the letter, and the very next Sunday, November 10, the *mob* fulfilled the prophecy of the second paragraph.

For on November 4 was dated Lord John Russell's "Durham Letter." It was addressed to Maltby, Bishop of Durham, and though issued without consultation with his colleagues, was intended to save the Ministry, which was in some danger, and, in fact, the letter did for some time postpone its fate; although "it weakened the attachment of the Peelites and alienated

his Irish supporters,"[1] it was a very astute move, and saved the Government from a defeat in the House. This is Mr. Bennett's description of it—

"Our Prime Minister published, as you know, a theological letter of the worst description to the Bishop of Durham, describing a certain party of the Church of England in terms so bitter, so malignant, so clever, that it was pretty sure (other events combined together) to point public attention to our Church of S. Barnabas."

The letter was nominally about the Papal Aggression, but it went on to attack the High Church Party.

"There is a danger, however, which alarms me much more than any aggression of a foreign sovereign.

"Clergymen of our own Church, who have subscribed the Thirty-nine Articles and acknowledged in explicit terms the Queen's supremacy, have been the most forward in leading their flocks, step by step, to the very verge of the precipice. The honour paid to Saints, the claim of infallibility for the Church, the superstitious use of the sign of the cross, the muttering of the Liturgy, so as to disguise the language in which it is written, the recommendation of auricular confession and the admission of penance and absolution,—all these are things pointed out by clergymen of the Church of England as worthy of adoption, and are openly reprehended by the Bishop of London in his charge to the clergy of his diocese.

"What, then, is the danger to be apprehended from a foreign prince of no great power compared to the danger within the gates from the unworthy sons of the Church of England itself?"

An excellent attempt to "draw a red herring across the trail!" The letter goes on—

"I have little hope that the propounders and framers of these innovations will desist from their insidious course. But

[1] W. P. Courtney, in "Encycl. Brit."

I rely on the people of England; and I will not bate a jot of heart or hope so long as the glorious principles and the immortal martyrs of the Reformation shall be held in reverence by the great mass of a nation which looks with contempt on the mummeries of superstition and with scorn at the laborious endeavours which are now making to confine the intellect and enslave the soul."

Magnificent! And all this from one who had been a constant attendant at S. Paul's for seven years, and who, though he had heard all these terrible things preached for a long time, had not been hindered by them, up to the time of this popular outcry, from taking the greatest interest in S. Barnabas' and giving Mr. Bennett his advice about its details! Truly unwise is he who puts his trust in politicians!

The letter, which was published at two shillings and sixpence a hundred, put the torch to the bonfire. "It filled," wrote Mr. Greville, "with stupid and fanatical enthusiasm all the Protestant bigots and stimulated their rage." Even the newspapers of the day attributed the riots which ensued to the Prime Minister.

On the 9th followed the Lord Mayor's Feast. The Civic Fathers, the Prime Minister, the Lord Chancellor, the Chief Justice, and the rest of the "bigwigs" supped full, not only of venison and turtle, but also of the horrors of Popery. The pillars of Church and State were shaken. The Pope grew large on the horizon. The Inquisition, with rack and thumb-screw, seemed to be expected by the next mail-packet, and to be about to take up its quarters in Pimlico.

The Lord Chancellor talked of "the simplicity of Christian worship which our Saviour adopted and left us an example of," forgetful, as Mr. Bennett pointed out, that He joined in the "gorgeous and minute ceremonial" of the Temple.

The Prime Minister talked the usual nonsense about "maintaining the religious liberties of the people," forgetful that for Roman Catholics to have bishops, if they pleased, was, as clearly as well could be, a part of *their* religious liberties.

Of such materials are Guildhall and political speeches made up!

But Mr. Bennett was not exactly the person to be attacked with impunity. *He* could write letters as well as a Prime Minister, and he speedily issued a pamphlet with the ominous title of "A *first* letter to Lord John Russell on the present persecution of a portion of the English Church." By its powerful invective as to his Lordship's consistency, and by the clever way in which he shows the Prime Minister (though now a follower of Dr. Cumming, a Presbyterian) to have been for years a participator in all the "popery" of S. Paul's and an abettor of S. Barnabas', and to have himself led up to the Papal Aggression by his own political acts of freeing Roman Catholics from disabilities, the letter can scarcely have failed to alienate some of the noble lord's supporters, and to have been one of the nails in the coffin of his Ministry. It largely and quickly circulated, and though published in the end of November, reached its sixth edition before the

end of the year, and went through eight or more editions.

"I am desirous of informing your Lordship," he begins, "as one of my chief parishioners, and as one also charged by our Sovereign Lady the Queen to administer the government of this kingdom, and therein to keep order, peace, and harmony among her subjects—I am desirous of informing you in both these capacities that I am in great trouble and distress of mind at the present moment in regulating the affairs of my parish. I am also desirous of forwarding you a copy of my sermon preached at S. Paul's, Knightsbridge, your parish church, on Sunday, the 17th of November. The sermon, should you possibly spare time to read it, refers to the difficulties and embarrassments under which we all are labouring as to the good order and decency of divine service; as to freedom of conscience in worshipping our God without bodily fear; as to a great alarm under which we daily live, lest some sin of sacrilege should be committed by a tumultuous and disorderly mob which is continually molesting us in our holy offices and threatening violence to our church and to our persons.

"I wish to inform you, my Lord, that on Sunday, the 10th of November, while I was performing the duties of divine service in the church of S. Barnabas', a tumultuous crowd assembled in the streets round about the church, and that a band of persons who had congregated together, no doubt for this purpose, within the very church walls, was guilty of a violent outrage against all decency in uttering hisses and exclaiming 'No Popery,' 'No Mummery,' and other similar cries, alarming the decent worshippers who are in the habit of frequenting our church. I wish to inform you that in consequence of this outrage, being literally in fear lest some very grievous act of desecration might be committed, the churchwardens and myself thought it advisable to close the church for the evening service, and so it must continue to be closed until these tumultuous assemblages are stopped; and that consequently our poor parishioners and other respectable

persons who are in the habit of attending divine service at S. Barnabas' are now hindered from doing so, and are in a great degree deprived of their spiritual privileges.

"I wish to inform you that since that time it has been thought necessary by the Police Commissioners that our church and residence should be guarded night and day; and that we are at present under the vigilant inspection of police constables who are watching the streets without cessation lest mischief should arise.

"I wish to inform you that on Sunday, November 17, a very large mob of most tumultuous and disorderly persons collected together a second time round the church, and this with a much greater demonstration of force than on the preceding Sunday—that a force of one hundred constables was required to keep the mob from overt acts of violence; that notwithstanding the exertions of the police much violence *was* committed, and a leader of the rioters taken into custody; that the mob again assembled at the evening service at three o'clock, and were guilty again of violent cries, yells, and other noises, battering at the doors of the church and disturbing the whole congregation—that similar scenes occurred again on Sunday, the 24th of November, when I was interrupted in my sermon by outcries and other signs of disaffection as before; all this tumult, your Lordship will please to remember, arising from persons collected from all parts of London—non-parishioners.

"I wish to inform you that the effect of this has been that the poor, the timid, and particularly women and children, have assured me that they *dare not* any longer attend divine service; that they are so intimidated, as well in bodily fear, as also shocked by the blasphemous expressions of the multitude to which they are compelled to listen, that they think it advisable to remain at home until these disturbances are put down.

"I wish to inform you that, in consequence of this, we on our part, I mean the clergy, are very seriously crippled and hindered in the various pastoral works of our calling; that the minds of our parishioners are disturbed and kept in an

unhealthy stretch of excitement; that the peace and love with which it is our duty to look upon each other, however great our differences of opinion, are gone; that hatred, animosity, and bitterness of spirit are engendered among us all; and that we are, in short, both clergy and people, in a very great state of trouble and distress; that we look forward to the next Sunday, when the greater services of the Church will be performed, under considerable fear that some violent outbreak may take place.[1] In short, the whole idea of worshipping our God in the peace and love of Christians is almost destroyed.

"It is time indeed, my Lord, when a congregation of Christian worshippers is obliged to have detective police within the walls of their church to keep order, and a body of one hundred constables without to keep off an unruly mob from bursting in and violating the Lord's sanctuary; when in their attendance at divine service the parishioners come in and go out in actual bodily fear; when the residence of a simple, inoffensive clergyman is obliged to be guarded all day and night by special police constables, as though he were in a state of siege, defending himself against an enemy—it is time, my Lord, then, that we ask ourselves the question, What is the meaning of all this? How has it come to pass? Where is the cause of it? *Who has done it?*

"I am about to tell you, my Lord, who has done it. I am about, if you will have the patience to listen, to tell you where lies the moving cause of all this outrage and blasphemy. To those who have eyes to see, alas, it is too plain."

He then goes on to attribute the disturbances to the "Durham Letter." He had just been offered a copy of it in the street. And then had come the speeches at the Guildhall.

[1] It is evident, and not uninteresting, that (from his saying in the second paragraph "the church must remain closed") this letter must have been partly written between November 10 and 17, and partly after November 24, and that, owing no doubt to pressure of time, he did not wait to alter the earlier written portion.

"What followed? Why, of course, the newspapers echoed your cry. Your Lordship had given the major premiss—the newspapers supplied the minor—the mob drew the conclusion.

"*Did you want them to draw the conclusion?* However, so it was—a conclusion inevitable. *How was it possible they should avoid it?* How was it *possible* when the uncultivated, ignorant minds of the common people were so skilfully plied with incendiary matter by the Prime Minister of England, backed by an unscrupulous public press, that they should not take fire? When the law in Court of Chancery, and the law in Court of Queen's Bench, represented by grave and solemn men, spoke out from a Guildhall dinner, and egged on the multitude with speeches about 'civil and religious liberty,' and with many suggestions about the Pope; and when Sir Peter Laurie wound up the story by saying, 'Whether Ministers led or followed, one thing was certain: BRITONS never would be slaves'—to what?—'either to Puseyism or to Popery'; how, my Lord, could we wonder any longer at what has taken place? You might as well have laid a train of gunpowder from Chesham Place stretching along the streets to S. Barnabas' Church, and then put into the hands of your friends 'the people' a torch and have said, 'Now you know where the mischief is,' and then have expected that the torch would not have been applied to the train."

No doubt, as Mr. Bennett said, the Durham Letter and the Guildhall speeches were the primary cause of the commencement of the riots on November 10, but the fire thus lighted was fed with fuel from all sorts of sources. "For days and days not a single newspaper but teemed with letters and articles about our poor inoffensive church." Meetings about papal doings were the order of the day, in every town and village in England, and we may be sure there was talk enough everywhere about papists in disguise.

Next, Lord Ashley, afterwards so well known as Lord Shaftesbury, made a speech on December 5, at "The Freemasons' Tavern," in which he gave vent to the sentiment, "I would rather worship with Lydia on the banks of the river than with a hundred surpliced priests in the gorgeous Temple of S. Barnabas'." This was of course cheered to the echo, and repeated everywhere, but, as Mr. Beresford Hope speedily explained, the noble lord had not sufficiently consulted his Greek Testament, for the place where Lydia worshipped was an oratory or chapel[1] near the river, and "might be less but might equally be more gorgeous than S. Barnabas'."

Then, of course, *Punch* made capital out of all this, and filled its pages *ad nauseam* with what were supposed to be jokes, all more or less profane. Here is a specimen. Among other complaints against S. Barnabas' was the noise which was made by its bells. A remonstrance was made to the Bishop, saying that the bells annoyed "thousands of the inhabitants." On which subject *Punch* produced a parody of which this is a verse—

> "Hushaby, Bennett, on the Church top,
> When your bells cease the outcry will stop,
> If you don't stop, when reason shall call,
> Down will go Bennett, bell-ringing and all."

Another specimen of wit was this—

"Song for Mr. St. Barnabas Bennett: 'I've been Rome-ing, I've been Rome-ing.'"

[1] Προσευχή. See Conybeare and Howson's notes on the passage in "Life of S. Paul."

There were also such recondite jokes as to call Dr. Pusey "Poor Pus(s)ey," and to represent the "Puseyites" in various extraordinary costumes, and it was not to be wondered at that the Bishop's accusation of "histrionics" inspired a comic playbill, which may be *in part* the "caricature" so strongly commented on by Mr. Bennett, as in his mother's bound copy of *Punch*, this alone is torn out, apparently as being thought too bad for preservation. In fact, during the end of 1850 and the beginning of 1851 the pages of *Punch* were crowded with gibes at the High Church Party. Sheet after sheet is full of the subject, even double pages and cartoons being *wasted* on it, since, of course, the only effect was to advertise the work and disgust its opponents.

It is satisfactory to reflect that no comic journal could insert such "jokes" in our days without destroying its circulation among all respectable people; so large a space have we passed over in the last sixty years and so much decency and (at least *outward*) reverence do we owe to the Oxford Movement and its "pioneers."

But *Punch* was left in the background by the theological inscriptions which were chalked up in every street—

"No Virgin Mary."
"No Wafer Gods."
"No Bishops."
"No Creed Worship."
"No Forgiveness of Sins."

Naturally "the mob drew the conclusion." The

riots began on November 10, and from that day continually increased in violence. Sir Frederick Ouseley, who was a "voluntary curate," had been threatened and insulted in the streets the night before, and he thought that if there had been any sympathizers in the church on the 10th an attack would have been then made.

That evening, S. Barnabas' being closed, Mr. Bennett remained at the college to protect his family should any violence be attempted. Sir F. Ouseley went to preach at S. Paul's. In returning at 8.30, he heard the crowd discussing what they would do next Sunday. Thus forewarned, precautions were taken against an attack, especially as Mr. Bennett had received threatening letters. The mob began again to collect at 10.30. The congregation already occupied the church, and a body of friends was stationed in the front seats to prevent any attack on the chancel. After the sermon, as those who were not remaining for the Communion were leaving, an attempt was made by the roughs to get in, but the friends of the church were too strong, and the hundred policemen outside kept the mob in check and made a way for the congregation to reach their houses. Sir F. Ouseley used to narrate how he told the organist to play the "full organ" during this row. This drowned the cries of the rioters and hindered them from communicating with each other.

They expected worse things for the next Sunday, and were prepared for a siege.

The mob which thus desired to attack the beautiful

little church was "headed by a nobleman and a flunkey." The flunkey[1] led the mob in person, the nobleman kept out of danger's way. As for the mob itself, its sturdy Protestantism was mostly of the type that is not unmindful of the "main chance" of picking pockets and of sacking a building the value of whose furniture was well known. As for the rest, like the mob at Ephesus, "the more part knew not wherefore they were come together."

On the other hand, there was a firm body of supporters of S. Barnabas' and of Mr. Bennett who did their best to protect the church and the clergy. Special constables were sworn in. Tradition says that some of the officers from Knightsbridge barracks, who "did not understand theology, but knew that Mr. Bennett was a gentleman," were among those who protected the church; and yet another tradition says that W. H. Bennett, Mr. Bennett's son, then a Queen's Scholar of Westminster, collected a band of his comrades there and was prepared to do battle with fists on behalf of his father and the church. This could scarcely have been except during the Christmas holidays at the school.

But a mob of roughs, of the type that were collected at S. Barnabas', is no easy thing to deal with, and there is no doubt that there was considerable danger of the church being wrecked and even of lives being lost during the continuance of the riots.

[1] He is said to have been the butler of the banker, Henry Drummond, the Irvingite leader. If so, master and flunkey can hardly have been agreed—for the Irvingites are "extreme ritualists." But perhaps he thought Mr. Bennett was "poaching on his master's preserves."

On November 24, the Twenty-sixth Sunday after Trinity, "being in the midst of the disturbances at S. Barnabas' Church," Mr. Bennett preached on "The Triumph of Charity." The whole of the sermon was "addressed principally to the strangers and intruders." In this he attempted to explain the customs at S. Barnabas', but the mention of the altar lights produced cries of "No Popery," and the like.

"After a while," says Mr. Bennett, "peace was restored, the better part of the congregation, consisting of the parishioners, subduing and putting to shame the intruders."

But the disturbance broke out again.

"The crowd outside the church was battering the doors and threatening to break in, the police resisting, and much violent language on all sides pouring forth."

Mr. Bennett tried to calm the mob by words which he afterwards "recorded as faithfully from memory as he could."

"What a sight is this! What sounds within of murmuring and breaches threatening of that which I have been putting before you as God's gift of love! And what tumultuous thronging at the doors without! What fearful exclamations of man's wrath in the midst of this holy place which was meant to be the house of mercy and of peace! How shall we regulate ourselves now and control our passions so that we be kept from any great sin in this conflict of evil? How shall we be saved from some grievous transgression against each other in thought or word or deed?

"I beseech you, brethren, now while there is time; before you may be led on in the hastiness of anger to use any violent expressions or indulge in any provocations or burst forth into any of those party cries which we hear without, that you reflect

for a short moment where you are—in whose House and for what purpose. Suppose the case of a number of our congregation—I mean our particular parish, who have been taught and trained to love (and do so dearly love) all these ceremonial usages which you on your part so violently denounce—suppose they were to rush violently into some Dissenter's chapel, and in their enthusiasm seize upon the seats appropriated to the regular congregation of the place, make violent outcries against the minister, deride and scoff at the method of their worship, and end by some gross act of destruction of their property—what would be said of such a demonstration of liberty of conscience?

"And for this building, this holy building reared up at such cost for the glory of God, no man surely could desire to injure or deface it; no man surely would lay his finger on it to mutilate a single ornament or to desecrate a single stone when he has but to reflect that it has been built solely for the poor man's use without regard of persons, without reward of hire, free and open for his worship for ever. But, brethren, should any one in the burning zeal of his ideas of right make such an attempt; should any one be stimulated in the fury of the moment to pull down with axes and hammers this fair place; should you attempt to destroy, as you have threatened, that holy symbol of our faith, the Cross of our Great Redeemer; should you attempt to pass through those gates which are the passage-way to the holy Altar of our God—know then that our duty would be passively to lay down our dead bodies in the gate, for over these alone should you find a path to desecrate the symbols of your God.

"There is one comfort. We have spoken to you of Charity, we have plied you with the topics of love, we have urged you with the arguments of justice, but all may fail even yet. Well, if it should fail, if still violence should be your determination, there is this one comfort—we will passively suffer, but at the same time we shall passively conquer. Even in your victory over us we shall have the victory over you. You may get the advantage over us in the fury of your misplaced zeal, but we shall have the real advantage over you; for we shall, God

helping us, manifest to you, in the midst of suffering, the victory of Charity; and so the words of the Apostle shall still be true, we shall know it comes of GOD, and CHARITY NEVER FAILETH."

This was, indeed, a very safe prophecy, and the teaching of all history. The riots at S. Barnabas', just as afterwards those at S. George's-in-the-East, only advertised, set forth and spread the doctrines and practices they were intended to destroy; but the argument was not likely to be appreciated by a mob "composed principally of thieves," and the riots still increased in violence on December 1 and December 8, on which day they reached their climax.

On December 1, the First Sunday in Advent, Mr. Bennett preached, presumably in the morning, at S. Paul's, "while the riots were still continued at S. Barnabas'"—so says the heading of the printed sermon. "Seek ye the Lord while He may be found, call ye upon Him while He is near," was his text. Of the other events of that Sunday there is no record.

But on the morning of December 8 there was great danger of a fearful catastrophe. Although there were special constables and other friends filling the seats and lining the screen, and the police, as usual, to keep order as far as possible, yet the mob, which, cursing and blaspheming, now filled the church, was so powerful that it threatened every moment to overwhelm the defenders. It resulted in a scene never to be forgotten. Mr. Bennett, conducted to the pulpit between two rows of friends, cast aside the manuscript sermon which he had brought, and wisely

trusted to God's guidance for what he ought to speak. It was given him in that hour. He spoke—and it was strangely enough the natural and usual subject for that day (the Second Sunday in Advent)—on the Day of Judgment. On the testimony of Sir Frederick Ouseley, who preserved the utmost coolness through the whole of these riots, and who often described this scene to the writer, that sermon alone saved the church from destruction and preserved the lives of some at least among the clergy and choir. Manning is said to have been present, "sitting by the organ," and to have pronounced it the finest sermon he had heard, and we may well believe that it was never before and never again within his experience to hear a sermon preached under such circumstances and producing such a result.

The sermon is reported, with slight variations, by the writer of the little book, "Consecration and Desecration," evidently an eye-witness, and in the volume of "Last Sermons at S. Paul's and S. Barnabas'," from Mr. Bennett's own recollection or some report of it.

He reminds them of the time when they must all meet again, if not here; an awful time, a fearful time, when the eternity of glory or of condemnation shall be given to each of us.

He asks, have they thought of the end here and of that Day of Judgment?

He points out that we all naturally anticipate a judgment, from conscience, as well as learn it from Scripture.

He describes that awful scene. He goes on to remind them that the judgment will extend to every thought, word, and act. It will be universal; it will be sudden; it will be final; it will be without possibility of error.

The effect of all this had been to compel the crowd to listen, and to hold them back.

His concluding words completed what the former ones had begun—

"And now, brethren in the Lord, what shall we say to each other concerning this great thing? First, shall we judge each other? Shall we impute motives, imagine wrong, suspect evil of each other? Had we not better wait and let God judge concerning us? Oh! how fearfully will HE judge those who, having a beam in their own eye (as probably most of you have), come here to judge their brethren, bidding them to cast out their motes! How fearfully will HE have to say in His justice, 'How came you in here not having on a wedding garment? You came to My Feast, you pressed in, you came out of the highways and thronged in a great multitude My Sanctuary—coming with a severe, scrutinizing, watching, suspicious mind; you came without the wedding garment of love, and no man coming into My Feast without that wedding garment can have a place in My kingdom. Cast him into outer darkness, where shall be weeping and gnashing of teeth.'

"Secondly, shall we look on each other in hatred, malice, revenge? Shall we, when we think each other guilty of some wrong, take the punishing of that wrong into our own hands, without any authority given us of God or man? Had we not better wait and let God punish the wrong-doer? 'Vengeance is Mine, I will repay, saith the Lord.' Oh! how fearfully will the all-searching scrutiny of the Son of God ask us concerning what we do, 'Why did you act thus? Why did wrath fill your heart towards this man or towards that so as to cause you to burst forth in bitterness of speech or clamor or

violence? Who made you a judge over your brother and an avenger to execute wrath?' Do you not think, brethren, that we had better each one of us look within and prepare for such questions as these, rather than be occupied with questions about each other?"

He then used the story of "the woman taken in adultery," in a most powerful and striking manner.

"There was a great sinner on one occasion brought into the presence of our Blessed Lord to be judged of Him. The accusers wanted in pretence to make Him judge her; but in reality they had judged her themselves long before. All her enemies collected round about her in a sort of anticipation of the certain verdict which they knew must be pronounced. But they had a mixed feeling, and we can hardly tell which predominated. They had partly an enmity against the woman for being a sinner; yet it would appear they had far greater enmity against our Lord Himself, for they wanted Him in condemning her to condemn Himself by becoming amenable to the law. But what did our Lord? He did not say, as they expected, 'She is guilty of death'; but He said, 'Look within yourselves—examine your hearts; see if all is right there. Let him that is without sin among you first cast a stone at her.' And they all went out.

"Brethren, may not this be something like your case to-day? You desire in bitterness of spirit against this church, and against these clergy, and against myself principally, to bring railing accusations against us; but it may be very questionable whether you are so much moved by the apparent spirit of bringing us before the Righteous Judge as you are by enmity towards the Righteous Judge Himself; *apparently* desiring to injure us, as representatives of a certain portion of the Church with which you are offended; but *secretly* desiring to injure the whole cause of religion and the Church of Christ altogether. We, the clergy here, may be guilty of wrong—much wrong—grievous wrong; no doubt we *are* very guilty in the sight of God for gross deficiencies in our manifold

duties. But that is not the question with which God will deal at the Day of Judgment; as far as *you* are concerned it will be simply this: 'Let him that is without sin first cast a stone at her.' Brethren, [if you realized all this][1] in all probability you would, each one, go out of this church silenced, abashed, confessing your own unworthiness. I pray that you might. I pray that you will. I beseech you leave our Blessed Lord alone with us—He will deal with us. Do you take care of your own hearts."

The state of things in the church had grown worse from Sunday to Sunday, no doubt because more and more of the regular congregation of parishioners were afraid to come. Yet there must have been still some respectable people among the crowd who were capable of listening to words like these, and of being influenced by them. These kept back the rest, it seems. But matters still stood in the balance. The moment was critical. Mr. Bennett went on—

"My brethren, I would ask you most seriously to pause in this career of excitement, into which you have been so ungraciously betrayed. I would ask you to give yourselves a check this day—this very day—on the principle of that greater day, in which your own lives and character will form the subject of the Judgment of GOD. Have you considered well how very important each circumstance of our lives is, each one day of our lives, each one transaction of our lives in which we may be engaged; how very important it is in forming our progress, in shaping our character, in tending either this way or that way, for or against our eternal salvation? It must follow that if every thought, word, and deed is to be the subject of examination at the Day of Judgment, then every thought,

[1] I have added these words, without which the sense seems incomplete.

word, and deed is tending to our salvation or the reverse. This very day, for instance, in this very multitude thronging round this holy place, there is the subject-matter, for each of us, of eternal glory or of eternal condemnation. What have we come hither for? What was our motive? What have we been doing since we have been here? What have been our thoughts? What have we been saying to each other or to God? What have been our words?

"Is there wrath among any of us towards one another? Is there suspicion? Is there intention of injury?—desecration of things holy?—hard and harsh looks?—violent gestures? Is there any mind to enter into the counsels of the ungodly against the Lord, and against His anointed, and against His sanctuary? Is there any mind to violate the order of His worship by interruptions and outcries and clamor? Very well; for each individual soul so engaged here to-day there stands before him, with a fearful certainty of retribution, the great day, when each particular now passing through his mind, will be matter of salvation to him or the reverse."

There was, it seems, among the crowd, one who made himself conspicuous by his cries and gestures, urging on the others. It was possibly that "flunkey" who has been spoken of. Him Mr. Bennett singled out from the throng and addressed him personally—

"You are about to act, my Christian brother, this morning, perhaps this very next impending moment, in some particular manner; you have come hither so to act; you set out from your dwelling this morning with a mind and purpose so to act. Did you reflect carefully concerning it before you set out? Did you reflect that your action upon that intention is now at this very moment ready to be the subject of record in the Book of Life—that book in which the Angel, with a pen of iron that never blunts, and ink that never fades, and a memory that never is dull, and a watchfulness that never slumbers, writes what you are now doing or going to do, a subject of your judgment at the last day.

"Are you so very confident that you are right in what you do?—so wholly and altogether removed from doubt that you are content to rest your eternal salvation on it?"

The leader, on these words, slunk back, it seems, into the crowd, terrified at the thoughts suggested to him. Mr. Bennett, turning his eyes, whose power was always wonderful, upon one and another in the mob before him, went on—

"Some one may presently rise up and speak a word of heedlessness, idleness, contempt, mocking, blasphemy. My brother, if you are about to do so, remember that it will be recorded by the Angel of God, and that you will be judged by the Righteous Judge. What may issue from an idle word—from the idle word of one single man? The stirring up of the passions of this multitude—contention, struggling, bloodshed, maybe murder—murder, if we resist each other, as resist we must—yes, perhaps murder, before His very Altar, and right in His immediate Presence. *That* may be the issue of one hasty word of yours, now uttered in the anger of a moment."

They had, no doubt, been forgetful of such *possibilities;* as long as it was only shouting, with the chance of looting a church, it was all very well, but to run the risk of *that,* for the sake of a cry about which they cared nothing—this was another matter: the whole crowd kept back. The speaker, pressing his advantage, went on—

"Oh! let me beseech you by the mercies of our common Lord, by the entreaties of love, by the voice of the Shepherd who would gather His lambs into the fold in peace, pause! —just pause a little! Reflect! How will it be for you in the accumulation of your sins at the great judgment, if you add one more, so heavy a one as this, to-day? How will it bear

for you in the weight this way or that? This one word which you are now going to utter—even this very little idle word—it will cause you to be justified, or cause you to be condemned, for you know thus much of Scripture, 'For every idle word you shall give account in the Day of Judgment!'

"If you sin now, if you sin to-day, what will be your case? Can you say it was accident—that you had not been warned of it—had not been told of its consequence? Can you say you did it ignorantly? The sin is being added to by the very fact of its passing through your thoughts. God will say to you, 'You were not taken by surprise, you did not act with precipitation, you did not act without warning!'

"Oh! Christian brethren, if I could by any word of mine, coming from the Holy Ghost, but save you in this hour of temptation—but save you from the awful issue of your evil passions, which you came here this morning with intent to gratify—if I might save one single soul from any deed to-day which might add to his sins at the great judgment, and so fill up the measure of God's wrath against him, that he perish everlastingly, it would be reward enough to counterbalance all the sufferings and anxieties which it has pleased God to bring upon us.

"Consider what you are—who God is—*what* you came to do this morning—*why* you came to do it—towards *Whom*. Consider this life, in which you are but breathing for a day. Consider the life hereafter, eternal in the heavens, or eternal in hell. What may you be losing by some little petty wilfulness of the moment? What may you be gaining by a prompt repentance, and a humble submission to God?"

Then followed the last words of this wonderful sermon, indicating a terrible crisis—a most amazing scene—

"Now the scales are poised—the scales of the evenhanded Justice of God. It is God who is our Judge. The Son of Man—He is the Righteous Judge. Now, even now, your thoughts, your words, your standing here, or your standing

there, the tone of your voice, the compression of your lips, your frown of wrath or your smile of love, your stamp of defiance or your submission of peace, your obstinacy in resisting the Holy Ghost or your gentle yielding to the better mood of His gracious influence,—all this—at this very moment while we stand here (GOD looking on)—all this is pouring now, quick and fast, and sure and full, into ONE of the scales of the Everlasting Judge. Now behold it! It poises even—it is balanced. It inclines. Which way? It weighs down. Whither does the index point? It is your condemnation? Oh, surely not! You have conquered. It is—it *is*—the salvation of eternal life."

With this picture before their eyes, with these words in their ears, the crowd, terrified and conscience-stricken, went out, as it is said, one by one, like the accusers in the story. From that day the riots diminished; indeed, Mr. Bennett describes the sermon, in his *report* of it, as "the last sermon during the riots, the mob still threatening the church." But disturbances went on for months afterwards, and all through the spring and summer of 1851, even after Mr. Bennett had resigned, it was necessary to keep on the special constables, and to guard the chancel gates to prevent the mob from invading the sanctuary. At last the troubles ceased, but for much of that year S. Barnabas' and its college were like to a beleaguered city.

CHAPTER VIII

NOTHING WITHOUT THE BISHOP—THE DEPARTURE —SUBSEQUENT HISTORY OF S. BARNABAS'—MUSIC OF THE DAY

Mr. Bennett's resignation criticized at the time.
Efforts of parishioners to retain him.
"The rivet that binds the resignation."
Farewell sermons.
March 23. The Last Sermon.
Leave-taking and protests, March 24.
The deputation of the poor, refused by the Bishop.
The last service, March 25.
The *spolia opima.*

Subsequent history of S. Barnabas'—
Riots continued.
Dispute about ritual—
with Bishop.
Westerton *v.* Liddell.
March 21, 1857.
Successive curates and incumbents of S. Barnabas'.
Church music as it was.
Hymns of "the good old days!"
The reform.
Revival of Plain-Song.

MR. BENNETT had succeeded in defeating the evil designs of those who hoped to get rid of him by mob violence, but he could not overcome his own reluctance to remain in a position of opposition to his Bishop. It must be repeated that this was the real cause of his giving up the work at S. Paul's, because it was then, and has been since, represented in such different ways. But the *Guardian* put the matter truly on March 26, 1851, when it said, "Mr. Bennett, faithful to his scrupulous sense of duty, has ceased his pastoral labours." It was the same thing which had driven

out Newman—the necessity of keeping the precept of Ignatius, "Nothing without the Bishop," words which Mr. Bennett had caused to be put in the painted window of the public room of the College of S. Barnabas.[1]

"Not being able," he says in the "Plea for Toleration," "to bring my conscience to disobey what appeared to me to be the law of the Church, I yet was equally unable to disobey my Bishop, and I resigned the charge which I held under him because the two obediences could not be made to tally."

On July 15, as we have seen, he therefore gave a pledge to resign "if the picture of his mind (as he had given it to the Bishop) was not that which could justify his remaining in the diocese." This pledge to resign he repeated on October 30, and, the Bishop having accepted this resignation on December 11, Mr. Bennett took care that it should be quite clear that by accepting his resignation the Bishop "judged him (and of course all who agreed with him) to be unfaithful to the Church of England."

The Bishop having, by accepting the offer to resign, pronounced this opinion, it only remained for Mr. Bennett to send in his formal resignation, unless the Bishop should withdraw not only his acceptance of the resignation but also his judgment that Mr. Bennett was unfaithful.

Mr. Bennett's action in resigning his pastorate because the Bishop was not in harmony with him was not without its critics at the time. He himself

[1] "The arms of the See of London," says Mr. Bennett, "inserted at large with this inscription, 'ΑΝΕΥ ΤΟΥ ΕΠΙΣΚΟΠΟΥ ΜΗΔΕΝ ΠΟΙΟΥ.' Ep. ad Magn. vii."

perceived that the result of acting on such a principle would be to make each diocese into a separate Church, and a few years later he would certainly not have acted in this manner again. In the *Morning Chronicle* the case was well put in a letter signed "D. C. L."

"The issue raised is whether the Church of England is to be a body, corporate and constitutional, governed by laws; or whether she is to be a collection of little despotisms, each depending for its absolute and irresponsible government upon the will or whim, the learning or ignorance, of the actual diocesan.

"Regarded in this aspect the question is not one between a single diocesan and a single parish priest, but an affair vitally affecting the constitution of the Church of England, both actual and theoretical."

"D. C. L." was, it is said, A. J. B. Beresford-Hope. But it may have been Baron Alderson.

Another correspondent wrote to Mr. Bennett thus—

"It appears to me that you have offered to your diocesan the power of acting beyond his proper authority and beyond the Church's law. You have deprecated any appeal to *law* and placed your resignation in his hands to be accepted or not, according to his view of what is at present *expedient*. This is a responsibility which, it appears to me, no private beneficed clergyman ought to throw on his diocesan.

"I consider that an obedience or deference to Episcopal authority which goes beyond the law errs as much on the side of excess as that which comes short of it errs on the side of defect. You have undoubtedly, in my humble judgment, acted very erroneously. It was a generous error, but, being an error, you ought not to persist in it. For you must, I think, already be aware that your course, if imitated, will be of dangerous precedent."

Though Mr. Bennett was not to be persuaded, I have thought it worth while to record these opinions then held as well as afterwards, because they certainly express the true view of such matters. Mr. Bennett himself says, "The Church is superior to any individual bishop."

But the parishioners were very far from being ready to part lightly with their beloved pastor, and strenuous exertions were at once made to retain him. A "General Committee," as it was called, was formed, and meetings were held from December 11 onwards in hopes of inducing him not to complete his resignation, or to wait till legal advice had been taken as to whether he had so far committed himself that the Bishop had legal power to demand its completion. These meetings were under the chairmanship of Sir John Harington, the churchwarden, and were attended by many of the prominent parishioners and by others interested in Church affairs, as Beresford-Hope and Lord Newry—so great was the interest taken in the matter.

On December 20 an address was presented to the Bishop, "earnestly suggesting that Mr. Bennett should be allowed to remain in a ministry where his labours have been blessed with so great success." But the Bishop replied on December 23, that, as his opinion of Mr. Bennett's *principles* remained the same, he must persist in his acceptance of his resignation. After another meeting the parishioners asked the Bishop what the principles were to which he took exception. To this request the Bishop

discreetly replied that he declined to discuss the question. Next, on January 7, they asked Mr. Bennett not to affix his signature to the legal document till they had had an opportunity of ascertaining the legal aspect of the matter, especially with respect to the Bishop being patron of the living "as well as Ordinary." Mr. Bennett replied on the 11th, that, as the Bishop had reiterated his judgment that his principles were unfaithful to the Church of England, it only remained still more clear that it was his duty to resign. He could not take advantage of any technical flaw in the proceedings. The Bishop's being patron might invalidate the resignation in law, but could not make any difference to a matter of obedience to the Bishop.

"The rivet that binds the resignation is the Bishop's acceptance of it, and that, in his Episcopal judgment, I am guilty of unfaithfulness to the Church of England. The only way of loosening the rivet is the Bishop's revocation of the judgment."

They were not yet satisfied. On the 13th they again wrote to the Bishop, asking him to specify what in the service he wished omitted. His Lordship declined so to do! Nothing would satisfy him but to get rid of Mr. Bennett. Who or what was behind all this? His Lordship was not wont to be so obstinate or determined.

In addition to the "General Committee," a committee of the poor of the parish was formed, and *they* asked to be allowed to send a deputation to the Bishop, and read an address to him. The Bishop

actually declined to receive the deputation, and asked that the address might be sent to him! On this the poor of the parish felt themselves "under the painful necessity of respectfully declining to forward to his Lordship the address which they had prepared." The address is most touching. Thus it ends—

"We beseech your Lordship to let Mr. Bennett remain with us; but, if not, we do hope your Lordship will see that our church, which was built expressly for us, is still a poor man's church.

"In conclusion, we beg that your Lordship will pardon anything that we may have said in this our address, as it comes from poor working men."

But it was all of no use. The fatal Tuesday, March 25, on which Mr. Bennett had promised the Bishop to complete his resignation, drew near. In the preceding week he preached on Wednesday or Friday[1] a sermon, "The Spiritual Wilderness," in which he was able to tell them that the services of the church would be continued after his departure in the same way as before.

On the Third Sunday in Lent, March 23, he preached at S. Barnabas' his farewell sermons both morning and evening. The choice of S. Barnabas' for both sermons shows how dear to his heart was this, his own design and creation for the poor.

"The services," says the *Guardian*, "were crowded to suffocation. There were more than a hundred

[1] It is a curious side-light on the troubles and on the pressure of work in that time that he gives an impossible date for this sermon in the printed copy: "*Friday, the 15th day of Lent.*"

communicants at seven in the morning." This surprised the *Guardian* of those days; it would not *now* be thought a large number, so much do we owe to the struggles of those days. "At the midday service the church was filled in every part within a few minutes of the doors being opened."

"The crowd was terrific," says the *Morning Advertiser;* but "the utmost order prevailed throughout the services," is the addition of a correspondent.

Thomas Helmore intoned the Litany as of old at the consecration of the church. Henry Fyffe and F. H. Freeth assisted at the Celebration.

"Mr. Bennett," the *Morning Advertiser* goes on, "ascended the pulpit habited in his surplice, over which were the red hood, indicative of the degree which he took in the University of Oxford, and the black scarf which is common to the priesthood."

Such was the excess of ritual which terrified Bishops and Lord Mayors, Lord Chancellors and Prime Ministers—or so they thought it politic to pretend!

"Mr. Bennett appeared depressed in spirits," the report goes on, "and his voice, which until lately was clear and musical, seemed to be broken, failing him many times during the delivery of the sermon."

His text in the morning sermon was the fifty-third verse of the seventh chapter of S. John's Gospel, "And every man went to his own house." His subject was a natural one: "Religious controversy." In the controversy to which the words of the text form the ending there were three disputants, three

characters—The Jewish people; the Pharisees; Nicodemus. In the people there was religious doubt and perplexity, through *want of knowledge;* in the Pharisees, unwillingness to hear about the claims of Christ at all; in Nicodemus, and doubtless others, timid compromise and postponement; so they all went to their own houses.

"Do these things, my brethren, remind you of any parallel in our present position? It seems to me, reading carefully through the seventh chapter of S. John's Gospel, that the workings of the mind in faith and the fallacies of the world in controverting faith, and the issue in a general perplexity and doubt in so many souls, has its very close fulfilment in us of the present day. You will readily perceive the three great dangers of the Church, now pressing forward, to be the very same as those depicted in S. John. I. Popular fallacies are seized upon and urged to conclusions which are known to be false. II. Worldly men hide and disfigure the truth by calling it *names.* III. Timid men, aware of the truth, shrink from its confession in a compromise.

"These are the three points to guard against—

"1. Confusion of truth by those in high places to serve some political movement. (Witness Lord John's Durham letter.)

"2. Aspersion of motives and imputation of wrong intentions in the faithful; and so instead of permitting them to serve the Church which they dearly love, gradually and eventually forcing them out of her. (Witness the Bishop's letters to Mr. Bennett, and the case of the clergy at S. Saviour's, Leeds.)

"3. A compromising, double-minded action of our rulers, leaning for support on the arm of the greatest enemy of the Church, of whom our Lord so repeatedly warned us—the *World;* a courting of the friendship and smiles of men; a putting of trust in *princes:* an association, in habits, temper, and thought, with the great ones of the earth; a fear of their

frowns, a shrinking from their ridicule, a thirst for their praise. And all this, to the utter exclusion, in the practical government of the Church, of any reference to the sole groundwork of safety, light, and guidance promised in the gift of the Holy Spirit at Pentecost. (Witness the cases of Hampden and Gorham, the two Archbishops agreeing to the Privy Council judgment.)"

His concluding exhortation—to avoid the bitterness of controversy and a narrow-minded, jealous, sectarian spirit—"made a strong impression on the minds of the vast congregation."

"The congregation for the afternoon service were stationed at the doors as the midday congregation dispersed, and for the evening service the church was filled to excess before half-past five, though the service did not commence till seven."

The last sermon was on "The work of Him that sent us," and the text was S. John ix. 4, "I must work the works of Him that sent Me while it is day. The night cometh when no man can work."

He first pointed out that Christian character is continually expansive, whether in doctrine, morals, worship, or conduct.

"Doctrine produces doctrine; work produces work; principle seeks out details for exercise; detail works out into principle for stability. Wherever you begin, provided that you begin in Christ, there you can never possibly end."

But the night must come to all, and then what bitter thought of neglected chances!

Perhaps "*we* have lost, misused and misapplied the day which God gave us—and now the night has found us.

"We have all had a bright shining day—a short one indeed; but, while it pleased God to let it last, a bright one.

There has been prayer daily in the churches. There has been preaching very frequent. There has been the Sacramental offering of the Lord's Body in one of the churches weekly, in the other daily. There has been a full and free intercourse in spiritual things, both publicly and privately, between priests and people. There have been hearts ever warming towards you, consulting for you, praying for you, scheming plans of good for you in many ways. There has been much, very much, of which I dare not trust myself to speak, nor would it be seemly so to do (only it is good for us all to think about it)—your memory will supply what I might have added."

He was at this point so deeply moved that for some time he was unable to continue his sermon. Then he ended thus—

"Yes, brethren, the night has come, and we can work no longer here. It has stopped our work in the midst. But carefully let us remember that this stopping in the midst is a blessing, not a curse. It is not to be dealt with in sullenness of temper as a treatment of injustice (God forbid, for it comes, remember, of Him); nor is it to be looked upon with any overwhelming grief, as a blow from which we can never recover; nor is it to be received with any depression of despair as though things were so dark and dreary in this night that they never could see the day again. No, surely not—if we are men, and Christian men, and have the cross about us, and Him who hung upon the cross in our hearts—surely not; but with a calm and brave submission, nay, even with a cheerful, though may be a solemn, gladness, knowing that it is the will of One who (loving us as He assuredly does) can only raise His chastening hand for some perfecting of the work which He has given us to do—known and prepared by Him who prepares all things, yea, even from the foundation of the world.

"Let us arise, then, and go hence. The day is ended. It was God's day. The night has begun. It is God's night

also. We cannot work, but we can rest—but *rest* is GOD'S will as well as work. And if not here, at any rate there is a place where 'there remaineth a rest for the people of God.' There *is* a place. May we all meet together and have our portion *there*, when GOD may please to call us! May He give us a word of blessing here, in order to give us a richer word of blessing there—for there verily we shall see Him in the dwellings of His thousand saints, amid the myriads of His heavenly hosts—there we shall see Him face to face—hear Him—yea, even touch Him, in JESUS His only begotten Son, the Saviour and the Redeemer, the ever-glorious Word, the Mediator of the New Covenant, GOD blessed for evermore." [1]

With these words his work in the parishes of S. Paul's and S. Barnabas' finished, but the sad farewells were not yet at an end. On Monday night, after the Eve Service of the Annunciation, a "most affecting and impressive meeting" was held in the college.

"The occasion of it was Mr. Bennett's leave-taking of his grateful and affectionate parishioners, which we can compare to nothing but the departure of a fond father from his sorrowing children. No words could adequately describe the sensation produced, but it must long continue vividly pictured on the minds of all present. The large schoolroom was, in a very few minutes after the opening of the doors, filled to overflowing by an anxious and eager concourse of all ranks of Mr. Bennett's parishioners; not the great, the titled, and the wealthy, but a vast assemblage of the once utterly neglected, and therefore ruffianly and degraded, now constituting a decent, well-conducted body of Churchmen and Churchwomen. These pressed forward with earnest affection to

[1] This concluding portion is differently worded in the *Guardian* report, though to the same effect. Possibly this part was extempore, and in the printed copy recorded from memory, as in the case of the sermons during the riots.

obtain a last look from him whose loving care first drew them from their misery, pointing out to their hitherto benighted understandings the blessings of Catholic truth; blessings of which they, but for him, would still have remained in ignorance. Nor did they come for this alone; but anxious that their friend (for such indeed he was) should carry away some of their regard they came with a humble petition that he would accept at their hands a tribute of their grateful recognition of the moral and spiritual obligation which will bind them to him for ever."

A protest was adopted by the meeting against Mr. Bennett's

"removal, and read by Sir J. Harington, the churchwarden of S. Barnabas'. It was to the effect that Mr. Bennett had not taught or done anything contrary to the doctrine, practice, or discipline of the Church of England; the Bishop had made use of an arbitrary and illegal stretch of power altogether unprecedented, and which was most dangerous to the liberties of the clergy and laity of the Church, and that the congregations of S. Paul's and S. Barnabas' felt deeply aggrieved that the Bishop had declined to state what were his objections to the principles of Mr. Bennett, or his reason for calling for his resignation, inasmuch as Mr. Bennett had faithfully followed the rules laid down by the Bishop himself in his charge of 1842."

Next was read a protest from the poor of the parish addressed to the Bishop against the removal of their "dear pastor." It was evidently drawn up by themselves, and is so good that it deserves to be reprinted in full—

"The protest of the poor men's committee to the Bishop of London.

"We, the poor of S. Barnabas', beg leave most respectfully to inform your Lordship that we protest against your removal

of our dear pastor from his cure amongst us. We cannot help thinking that your Lordship must have been deceived or you could never have acted as you have done. When we think that you have taken our beloved pastor from amongst us with the charge of unfaithfulness to the Church, which charge falls upon us alike with him whose loss we shall ever deplore, it makes us look with amazement around and ask, Can it be true? What is the cause of it? And when we consider it, it appears as if your Lordship partook of and agreed in the 'No Popery' cry that was raised by an unthinking and rebellious mob, and then in the perplexity of the moment you visited your displeasure upon our poor pastor; and now you send him out with a faggot upon his back. What Bishop will give him a living with that charge still remaining? You are the one that made the charge, and you are the only one that can remove it, and let us beseech you to do so.

"My Lord, we humbly beg that you will reconsider the whole unhappy affair, and see if you cannot do something for the wrongs you have done to one of your ablest and most zealous servants; and we further beg your Lordship to forgive us speaking so boldly, but if you could but feel our loss you would require no other apology for so doing. We humbly ask your Lordship to pardon what you see amiss in this, as it comes from poor labouring men. Yet we wish your Lordship to know that it is as we think upon the matter. We beg to conclude with the fervent prayer that your Lordship will so order our church that peace and happiness, truth and justice, may be established amongst us.

"We remain, my Lord,

"In all humility,

"YOUR LORDSHIP'S MOST OBEDIENT SERVANTS."

After the reading of these protests Mr. Bennett came into the room. There was a deafening shout of welcome,

"accompanied by waving of hats and handkerchiefs and such clamorous expressions of good will as might be expected

from the unsophisticated class of whom the assembly was composed. Mr. Bennett, it was evident, felt deeply these demonstrations; but, struggling with his feelings, over which he is known to possess an extraordinary control, he sat down for a few minutes to recover himself."

An address was then read to him by the chairman, which puts the whole case most admirably.

"We cannot but feel the extreme injustice of calling upon you to discontinue practices which undoubtedly come within the rubrics of the Church and were in spirit recommended for adoption by the Bishop himself, while in other churches of the diocese the most open and continued violations of the rubrics are allowed.

"Again, we are at a loss to express our grief at the treatment you have received from the Bishop, when we recollect the circumstance of his pressing you for your resignation while a mob of rioters was at the door of our church, and that he whose duty it was to throw oil on the troubled waters and to bind up those in affliction and danger did not consider it beneath his sacred office to send his letter of the 9th of December, 1850, to the public press at the same time as to yourself; and this at a moment when a word of authority, coupled with affection and kindness, would have been the greatest support to you in your trials, and would probably have stayed the angry and excited feelings of your enemies.

"This we feel most, especially inasmuch as the clamour and riots were not caused by the poor in our district but were created by persons drawn entirely from other quarters, and you were deserted not only by Episcopal countenance and advice but by all authoritative redress—the Prime Minister descending from the seat of power to act the part of a partisan; the magistrate before whom one of the rioters was taken declining to punish, and even adding to the popular tumult by his remarks.[1]

[1] Just as was done by the magistrates at S. Sidwell's, Exeter, and by other magistrates on other such occasions.

"The imputation also of any practice in your churches having been adopted 'simply from its being a practice in the Church of Rome,' we feel to be most unjustifiable, as from our long knowledge of your opinions and feeling we know that any doctrine or practice simply Roman and not Catholic meets with no sympathy from you."

Mr. Bennett then replied. He said that the whole battle of the past five months, the trials of the time, the raging of the mob, had none of them occasioned such a struggle within him as the loving words and the sympathy he had received that night. He then alluded to the many tokens of affection he had received in the form of presents. One was a silver cross from the poor. The catechumens gave him a silver font; the children of S. Paul's an inkstand, those of S. Barnabas' a pair of candlesticks; and the "Committee of the Poor" now presented him, in the middle of his speech, with a silver teapot. All these tokens of love for him very much affected him.

He then advised the softening of some expressions in the address, which he thought too severe upon the Bishop, pointed out once more his idea of a collegiate church and the necessity of musical services, where services are *daily*, and assured them that no change would be made in the services by his successor, Mr. Liddell, and hoped he might sometimes be permitted to come and preach to them. Lastly he reminded them that they were to meet at the Eucharist the next morning, and trusted they would be self-controlled on that occasion and indulge in no manifestations of sorrow.

"After this," the report concludes, "the meeting, with many tears, slowly departed to their homes."

The last of these parting scenes was the next day—the Feast of the Annunciation. The Holy Communion was celebrated, as usual on holy days, at 11. About five hundred persons came, and of these every one communicated.

At the end of the service the west doors were opened and the choir, preceded by the churchwardens, went down the nave chanting the sad psalm, "By the waters of Babylon we sat down and wept, when we remembered thee, O Sion," as smoothly as their emotion allowed them. Their voices died away as they went round into the college, thus reversing the joyous procession with which the consecration ceremonies had begun so short a time before. Many of the choir were most deeply affected, and one or more cast their surplices on the ground in an agony of grief and despair.

The congregation, we are not surprised to be told, could no longer control their feelings, but left the church in a unanimous burst of sorrow. Not only women gave way to their grief, but even men showed the depth of their sadness and depression at the loss which they had met with in Mr. Bennett's departure and their fears for the future of S. Barnabas'.

The contrast was indeed a painful one to those who had been present at the consecration: the bright and joyous opening; the sad and foreboding ending of his work. Yet is it not at least probable that Mr. Bennett's extreme conscientiousness with respect to

his duty to his Bishop set forth the Catholic Movement more than anything else he had done, and that he gained more adherents for the cause by his departure than he would have done by remaining there? He conquered by yielding—*Cedendo Victor.*

The *Times*, when Mr. Bennett resigned S. Barnabas', informed its readers, with a flourish of trumpets, that "we may fairly count the *spolia opima* of Mr. Bennett as among the first substantial triumphs of the Protestant Cause." *Spolia opima*, it may be explained for the benefit of those less learned than the *Times*, were the arms taken on the field of battle by the victorious general from the general whom he had vanquished. Who was the victorious general *here* — the Bishop, the Prime Minister, or the Flunkey? And where are those *spolia opima* now?

S. Barnabas' ever remained in the thoughts of Mr. Bennett, and his prayers, he said, would go up for the poor of S. Barnabas', "never to be forgotten." But his work would remain whether he were exiled or not.

"We see," said the letter which was refused by the *Times*, "an almost heathen district Christianized, the children of the poor brought to school, the parents brought to a knowledge of their Saviour, the interests of the poor man identified with those of the rich; the fatherless and widows visited in their affliction; the travailing women attended to and cared for; the consolations of religion afforded to the dying, and pastoral care bestowed upon the living; the naked clothed; the hungry fed; the houseless protected,—and all this, by whose instrumentality, under God's providence, but by his, against whom the finger of scorn is now pointed and the arm of persecution

raised to strike him down—even against the zealous, persevering, faithful, and consistent incumbent of S. Barnabas', Pimlico."

The subsequent history of S. Barnabas' is naturally part of our subject.

The little church continued in the forefront of the battle for ritual decency for six years to come. All depended on the result of that battle. Had the very moderate ritual of S. Barnabas' been stopped, it would have been far more difficult to revive it elsewhere.

On Mr. Bennett's resignation, the Bishop appointed as Perpetual Curate, Mr. Liddell, a man of precisely the same opinions and principles, which appointment rendered his insistence on Mr. Bennett's resignation an absurdity. Mr. Liddell had already, by March 25, secured the services of James Skinner as senior and responsible Curate of S. Barnabas', himself attending chiefly to S. Paul's. On September 30 Charles Lowder became the helper of Skinner in the S. Barnabas' work. This arrangement continued till Mr. Skinner's illnesses enforced his resignation of the work at the end of 1856, in the August of which year Mr. Lowder had left to begin his work in the parish of S. George's-in-the-East.

The riots continued, as we have said, through a large part of 1851. It was necessary to keep a number of special constables, members of the congregation, always ready to guard the chancel and prevent an invasion of the sanctuary. But these disturbances gradually died away.

Next came the continued dispute about ritual. In

Mr. Bennett's time the ritual which caused such an outcry was confined to what we should consider very moderate limits indeed. Lighted candles on the altar at the Celebration both at S. Paul's and at S. Barnabas', eastward position at the Celebration, Invocation at the commencement of the sermon, procession of choir and clergy from vestry to chancel, altar cloths coloured according to the season, bowing to the altar on entering and on leaving church, and a few flowers at the back of the altar,—these were the awful pieces of Popery which "confined the intellect and enslaved the soul."

The fight to maintain such things was first with the Bishop, who wished to reduce the ceremonial and to go back to old-fashioned methods. To a certain extent he succeeded.

His Lordship wished the adoption of red altar cloths independently of the season; at S. Paul's this was conceded, but at S. Barnabas' the colours were retained.

The flowers on the altar were discontinued.

A fierce tussle, almost or quite literally so, took place over the altar cross. One churchwarden took it away, the other replaced it. Finally it was nailed to the ledge, and this was supposed to make it "legal," as being a fixture and part of the building and not an ornament. The Bishop is reported to have said that he would have that cross removed if it cost him his see, but he failed in this laudable effort to put out of sight the sign of our salvation.

The earlier arrangement of the priest's position—

the "north end" till the prayer of Consecration, and then the eastward, as in Mr. Bennett's first years at S. Paul's—was resumed. The eastward position of the gospeller and epistoler was also abandoned, and they stood at the south end of the altar. This also had been the earlier practice at S. Paul's.

The black gown in the pulpit was also resumed. The Invocation was dropped and a prayer before the sermon used, by the Bishop's orders.

The Bishop allowed the procession of the choir and clergy, but the clergy were not to go up to the altar carrying the vessels in their hands. One of the numerous complainants had described this as the Romish procession of the Host!

Bowing to the altar his Lordship permitted, and had even in his charge commended, but would not allow the bowing at the *Gloria Patri*. As this last ceremony is believed to have been originally a protest against Arianism and an assertion of the doctrine of the Trinity, its disallowance while permitting the bowing to the altar seems inconsequent.

For a short time the prayers were said in a desk outside the screen, but the Bishop unwisely condescended to argue, "The poppy heads are in the way." Mr. Skinner took a saw and cut them off, and no more excuse remained for keeping him out of his stall. The Litany appears to have still been said at the faldstool.

An attempt was also made by the Bishop to do away with the choral service, but the congregation were too much for his Lordship, and as they *would* sing

their part there was nothing for it but for the clergy to sing theirs.

Then followed the first of the ritual prosecutions, which ended in well-deserved disaster for the attack. The prosecutor was Westerton, a parishioner and churchwarden, who complained of various observances and ornaments.

In the first court Dr. Lushington pronounced his ridiculous judgment—that the Church of England was a brand-new invention of Henry VIII. and had nothing to do with any previous Church whatsoever! Sir J. Dodgson, in the Arches Court, left matters equally in a fog. Mr. Liddell then appealed to the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council, which, in one of its rare lucid intervals, pronounced, what is obvious enough, that the "Ornaments rubric" orders those "ornaments" which were prescribed by the First Prayer-book of Edward VI. It therefore allowed the cross as an ornament, the coloured altar-cloths, the use of lights at the Celebration, etc. This judgment broke the neck of the opposition, and, though the Privy Council afterwards changed its mind, or rather its *policy*, the importance of the judgment, coming at that time, cannot be over-estimated—a time when the judgments of the Judicial Committee were still thought by many to be judgments of the Church. Great was the excitement in Court as point after point of ritual was pronounced legal. So ended the great campaign of ritual so far as S. Barnabas' was concerned.

But in another lawsuit, referring to the Round

Church at Cambridge, the use of a stone altar was condemned, and, in consequence, the stone altar at S. Barnabas' was put down into the crypt. Thirty years afterwards the crypt was decorated and called the "Chapel of the Holy Sepulchre," and the old stone altar came once more into use.

The college still continued to be the residence of the clergy, and Mr. Skinner lived there with his family, as well as the other curates.

On Mr. Skinner's resignation Mr. Cosby White was appointed as Curate. The question of the separation of S. Barnabas' from the mother church had been previously discussed, and in 1866 this was carried out, Mr. White becoming the first "Perpetual Curate" of S. Barnabas'. Mr. Bennett had been, so far back as 1854, in favour of this arrangement.

Mr. White was succeeded in 1876 by Mr. Bagshawe, who died in 1879, soon after his resignation. Then Mr. Gurney was Vicar for nineteen years, and in 1896 Mr. Hanbury-Tracy, who had been Mr. Bennett's successor at Froome, became his successor, after a long interval, at S. Barnabas'.

After the judgment of 1857, S. Barnabas' was left to continue its progress unmolested, and had "throngs of worshippers," but was left behind by other churches, which had profited by its battles, in the restoration of ritual.

And so the history of the little church, which began amid such exciting scenes, ends with the quiet and peace of uninterrupted work for the good of souls and the glory of GOD.

This will be a good place to take note of the change which took place in Church music owing to the Oxford Movement, and to describe the part which Mr. Bennett and S. Barnabas' had in the reform.

By the end of the eighteenth century it was high time that there was a reformation of ecclesiastical music in the Church of England. Parish church music had sunk to the lowest possible depths.

Mr. Bennett, well aware that music may be the handmaid of religion, though she too often betrays that glorious office, took a vigorous part, as might be expected, in the restoration of better things. He is said to have been one of the originators of the *Parish Choir*, a periodical published by "The Society for Promoting Church Music," whose desire it was

"to provide and make popular a system of ecclesiastical music such as the humblest could join in—not for the mere amusement of men, but for the worship of God.

"The papers," we are told in the third volume, "signed with an initial letter, were supplied by a small knot of friends who originally established our publication, and who for a considerable time used to meet and discuss the tone and matter of the various articles."

Three articles, signed "B," in the first numbers appear from their style and contents to be due to the pen of Mr. Bennett, but these seem to have been the whole of his contributions.

The state of church music then is indeed wonderful to read of. In many places the singers were twenty or thirty school children who at intervals "made

the bare walls ache with the screech of their discord." And this, according to Mr. Bennett, was as much the case in town churches as in country ones. In country churches, indeed, there was often no attempt at music of any sort. "Music," said Archdeacon Baily, in 1826, "is rarely used in the services," and, when it was, it consisted of the versified psalms sung to tunes chosen merely by the metre of the psalm and the capacities of the barrel-organ.

But in some more musical places the verses of the metrical paraphrase were each sung to a most elaborate setting. This comprised very often a solo, duet, etc., ending in a chorus of all the parts, together with a symphony of flutes, violins, and other instruments, by the ancient players of the village. Occasionally it was necessary, as Mr. Bennett tells us in the *Old Church Porch*,

"to repeat some first words of a line in order to bring it into the tune. Thus in singing the concluding line of a hymn—

"'Our poor polluted souls,'

"it was necessary to repeat the first three syllables, and then the whole congregation was found singing—

"'Our poor Poll, Our poor Poll, Our poor Poll!'"

At the time when the revival began, the wretched versions, or rather perversions, of the psalms done by Sternhold and Hopkins, and afterwards by Tate and Brady, had for a long time occupied the place now taken by hymns. At the end of these versions were usually printed some real hymns, interspersed with doggerel lines which professed to represent the

Creed, The Lord's Prayer, the Ten Commandments, the *Te Deum*, and other Canticles. This was in imitation of Luther, who, knowing his countrymen's love of music, thought to popularize his Reformation movement by this means, and did so with great success. In order that those to whom these astonishing compositions are happily unknown as part of worship may realize what our ancestors gravely sung in their churches, the first verse of "The Symbol or Creed of Athanasius" will amply suffice, as it was done by Sternhold and Hopkins, or one of their coadjutors—

"What man soever he be, that
salvation hopes to gain
The Catholic Belief he must
before all things retain,
Which faith unless he whole do keep
and undefiledly,
Eternally without all doubt
he shall be sure to die."

Nor were Tate and Brady much better with their "New Version." This, for instance, is the way in which they put Psalm lv. 2 into rhyme—

"Attend to this my sad complaint,
And hear my grievous moans;
Whilst I my mournful case declare
With artless sighs and groans."

After reading these effusions one is astonished to find that the introduction of any hymns beyond those mentioned should have been at first strenuously opposed by the High Church Party. The *Parish Choir* expressed doubts as to the legality of hymns, even those printed at the end of Tate and Brady,

for Bishop Ken's Morning and Evening hymns were so printed, and exception was taken even to them. Mr. Bennett's brother, at S. John's, Worcester, is soundly rated for having those two hymns sung, apparently at the beginning of Mattins and at the end of Evensong.[1]

In August, 1849, a correspondent objects to all hymns on these grounds: (1) There is such a variety of books; (2) they contain hymns which are merely pieces of poetry on irrelevant subjects; (3) their metres are outrageous; (4) they induce clergymen to devote that attention to them which they would otherwise give to the genuine service. The editor's comment is—

"We would go further than our correspondent. The daily services do not require the adventitious aid of metrical hymns, *scarcely even of metrical psalms* (!). It is a transgression of the order prescribed in the Ritual," etc., etc.

All this curiously illustrates the stiffness of the ideas of the "Tractarians" of that date; but there was also, it may be thought, another reason, namely, that hymn-books had become the symbol of the "Evangelicals," and that a large proportion of the then popular hymns were of their type of theology.

In 1842 Mr. Bennett was apparently of the same opinion, for in combination with his organist, Robert Carter, he published a "Psalter," *i.e.* a selection of

[1] It is, however, right to add that one objection which the *Parish Choir* has to Mr. F. H. Bennett's use of these hymns is that to sing a hymn at the commencement of Mattins and Evensong is contrary to the structure of those services, which begin with penitence and then proceed to praise. This view, it cannot be doubted, is the true one.

"psalm tunes, Chaunts, Services, etc.," as used in Portman Chapel. "This book," says his curate, Mr. Beaufort, in his sermon on New Year's Day, 1843 (Mr. Bennett being seriously ill at the time), "is the only one of the kind yet attempted."[1] It is amusing to learn, from Mr. Bennett's pastoral letter to his congregation, that on and after January 1, 1843, "all the psalms to be sung during divine service will be taken exclusively from the New Version of the Psalms of David as authorized by the Church," and Mr. Beaufort congratulated the congregation on the fact that "we shall not now any more be subject to the reproach of using unauthorized hymns." In the light of subsequent events and ideas all this becomes extremely funny when we remember that the sole "Church authority" for the use of Tate and Brady was an Order in Council of "His most excellent Majesty" William III., on December 3, 1699! What would Mr. Bennett have said of such an "authority" a few years later?

It is perhaps to be regretted that the ancient hymns of the Breviary were not translated by the compilers of the Prayer-book and inserted in their proper places, but Cranmer, who wished this done, deplored his inability, though he tried his hand at it, to versify them satisfactorily. The version of the *Veni Creator*, "Come, Holy Ghost, our souls inspire," was the work of Bishop Cosin, and (with the alternative, older, and less successful version) is the solitary

[1] In this Psalter he tried to arrange the New Version psalms so as to be appropriate to each day, but the task was an impossible one, and not very successful.

representative of the ancient hymns in our offices. It remained for the nineteenth century to rectify this omission, and the work was well done by many, but above all, by Dr. J. M. Neale, who had a special and wonderful gift of transferring the spirit of those grand old hymns into English verse. Mr. Helmore and others arranged them to their mediæval tunes, and the first part of the "Hymnal Noted" was published in 1851. But the "Hymnal Noted" did not include the many inspirations of modern hymn-writers, and consequently there followed many other hymnals, the best being Lord Nelson's "Salisbury Hymn Book" in 1857.

At S. Barnabas' the only hymn sung during the Consecration Octave was the hymn *Cœlestis Urbs Jerusalem.* It was "translated in a great hurry by Dr. Irons," says Miss Helmore. The history of it is worth recounting. In its Latin form it was a recast, both in words, metre, and music, made at the Reformation of the Roman Breviary, of the earlier hymn, *Urbs Beata Hierusalem.* Neale, who says in his notes on it, "*Accessit Latinitas, recessit pietas,*" condemns the changes made, and adds—

> "It was inserted in the 'Hymnal Noted' as having been the first Gregorian hymn which became popular since the revival of plain-song in the Church of England."

This popularity it must have acquired at the opening of S. Barnabas'. It was sung there, according to the present Warden of S. Michael's, "from a very small book," perhaps a mere leaflet. The "Hymnal Noted" was not then printed. The hymn was joined in after

the first few days "by the whole congregation," says a daily paper of the time,

"with a heartiness which shows how well adapted such hymns are, with their legitimate melodies, for the use of the English Church."

And, spite of criticisms, the old melody and the hasty translation have haunted the survivors of that Octave from that day to this, and among them the writer of this memoir.

While we are on the subject of hymns, it will be worth while recording that the hymn-book used at Froome was the "Hymnal Noted," with the Appendix of more modern hymns as used at S. Alban's, Holborn.

The use of the Gregorian tones in chanting was discontinued after the Commonwealth, but they were the parents of the Anglican system of chanting. The revival of the Gregorian tones began as early as 1830. Redhead's *Laudes Diurnæ*, a Gregorian Psalter, was in use at Margaret Chapel from 1839 to 1845. The "Psalter Noted" was published in 1849, and was in use at S. Andrew's, Wells Street, at the Dedication Festival of that year. This—"Mr. Helmore's *Noted Psalter*," as one of the newspapers called it—was used at S. Barnabas' from the beginning. The Processional Psalm, lxviii., was sung, as there set, to tone viii., second ending, the alternate verses being sung in harmony by the choir and in unison by the clergy, a plan which would scarcely commend itself to *our* ideas of plain-song. The other psalms were sung antiphonally.

All this mediæval music was much to the disgust

of Sir Frederick Ouseley, who was one of the curates, and was afterwards Professor of Music at Oxford, and founder of S. Michael's College at Tenbury. He remained faithful to the Anglican form of music all his days, and spent his life and fortune in promoting it. On one occasion, after a discussion at Kemerton about the difficult question of "pointing" the psalms for Anglican chants, Mr. Bennett's brother said playfully, "After all, Gregorians are the real thing." On this Sir Frederick exclaimed, waving about his arms in agony, "Then I've lived in vain! Then I've lived in vain." When the break-up of the services at S. Barnabas' took place, Sir Frederick arranged for the choir of S. Barnabas' to be kept together at Lovehill House, near Langley. There, under the care of Mr. H. Fyffe, and with the present Warden of S. Michael's as choirmaster, they remained as the nucleus of the choir for Sir Frederick's foundation at S. Michael's.

The remainder of the music at S. Barnabas' during the Octave was of the Cathedral type—"Services" for the Canticles; anthems; Tallis for the versicles, responses, *Sanctus*, and *Gloria in Excelsis*.

Thus much it has seemed worth while to note so as to show the ideas which were prevalent in 1850 as to what Church music ought to be, among the most progressive of the "High Church" Party. In later days, under Mr. Skinner, the music of S. Barnabas' became entirely of the Gregorian type, and in the days of Mr. Bagshawe, with Mr. G. R. Woodward as precentor and Mr. G. H. Palmer as choirmaster and

organist, the plain-song there reached the highest degree of perfection.

Sad is the contrast between the opening music of S. Barnabas' and the last under Mr. Bennett's ministry there. It began with the inspiriting sounds of "Let God arise," to the jubilant tone in the "Psalter Noted," as the choir, passing along the street, entered the west door of the church. It ended with the sorrowful words of the exiles' lament, "By the waters of Babylon we sat down and wept," sung to the most touching and plaintive of all the mediæval chants [1] as the choir left the church for the last time.

Well did the one psalm express the joyous anticipations at the consecration, which was to inaugurate, as was hoped, and as was indeed the case in the end, a new era in the worship of the Church of England; while the other psalm told only too sadly of the tragic exile of the founder of the Church of S. Barnabas'.

[1] First tone, first ending, with monotonic mediation.

CHAPTER IX

TRAVELS ABROAD—FROOME—MR. HORSMAN

Mr. Bennett, ill, goes abroad with Sir J. Harington.
Flanders; Aschaffenburg; Kissingen; Vienna; impressiosn.
The Stelvio pass; Venice.
Mr. Greville's speculations about him.
Offer of Froome.
Lady Bath.
Protests made against appointment.
Mr. Horsman in the House of Commons.
Asks for an inquiry by her Majesty: defeated.
The letter of a "professor."
The "Bill of Rights" endangered!
Mr. Horsman asks for a Select Committee, and gets it.
Finds himself a Committee of ONE.
The second letter to Lord John Russell.

IT was natural that Mr. Bennett, after the toils, the griefs, the contentions of 1850 and 1851, should seek a little change of scene after that sad Lady Day. Accordingly, having paid visits to his mother at Chudleigh and his brother at Kemerton, he went abroad with his friend and churchwarden, Sir John Harington, who had been so long his strenuous supporter at S. Barnabas', and took with him his son, whom he wished to see something of the continent. Their plan was to go to Kissingen, in Bavaria, where Mr. Bennett was to take a course of the waters. It appears that he was ill after all that he had gone through, a fact which is by no means surprising.

First, however, the party went to some of the

towns in Belgium, and his description of his impressions in a letter to his brother is worth recording.

"The cities in Flanders struck me as remarkable fulfilments of what we have always heard to be the Flemish character—excessive cleanliness of streets, order, activity; and, in the churches, a very simple and pure form of the Catholic faith—a very slight sprinkling of the more objectionable parts of their system; the clergy active and zealous, and seemingly very pastoral. It was a great gratification at Ghent to hear the old canons on their *misereres* chanting away the old Gregorian tones, a sound I had not heard since poor S. Barnabas'."

They then went to Cologne, Bonn, Mayence, and Frankfort, and, from Aschaffenburg, in Bavaria, Mr. Bennett writes to his mother a description of the place.

"After tea this evening we went out strolling about this town, and it struck me very much. No gas; no paving; a contempt for all kind of cleanliness. There is a palace of the King of Bavaria, a large, square, majestic place, with a huge tower at each corner; if a giant with a sword some six feet long had stalked out of the quadrangle it would have only been in perfect keeping. Such massive buildings, cathedrals, churches, palaces. 'Here I am. Here I have been for a thousand years. Here I shall be for a thousand years more. I despise your lath and plaster. They will have a succession of generations and all be in the dust twenty times over, while I stand here indestructible.' This is the kind of speech these great buildings make to me. And the hotels all the same: great staircases and passages, with banisters as thick as great trees, and stairs that bid the wear of feet defiance. Another thing—the furniture and decorations. Together with the massive structure is the peculiarly quaint and beautiful furniture. Curious old secretaires and wardrobes, opening in indescribable places, and beautifully made. *We* have not an idea of making such things. The great Exhibition *may* perhaps do us good

in this, but I think our workmen have not the heart to set about such things."

On Friday, June 20, he continues this letter, from Kissingen. His picture of the journey is amusing when we think how we should accomplish it now.

"From Frankfort hither we came with two days' work by post, and such slow, phlegmatic German postillions. Between Aschaffenburg and this we went through twenty miles of one continuous forest [1]—Silva Spissa—an old forest known and named by the Romans. There is a vast grandeur in these masses of things—Nature is larger here. Now for Religion! There indeed is the sore point.[2] Many things in very bad taste, but on the whole a great preponderance in its favor. More real Devotion; less fear of man; greater fear of God; keener sense for Adoration. The roads skirted all along by the Stations — Crucifices — Pietàs — Pictures of the Blessed Virgin—all are at least outward signs of the faith of Christianity and that the people as a people are not ashamed of it. On S. Barnabas' Day I was at the Mass in Ghent—on the Octave, at Aschaffenburg—on Corpus Christi, here:—a most beautiful Festa and a holiday for the people. I went into the church about 8, full of men and women: High Mass: most beautiful music. But I did not like a somewhat too theatrical introduction of drums and violins and one female voice—which, however rich and beautiful as concert music, seemed too much for a Religious ceremony. At Frankfort we went on Sunday to the Benediction—most beautiful and impressive. There *are* faults—many,—I am not blind to them, but comparing with our own hard, cold, rationalistic service, all that I see here is infinitely preferable as a work of devotion. The people here are worshippers—is England?"

[1] The Spessart.

[2] By "sore point," which reads obscurely, he seems to mean that the contrast between the continental religion and the English was to the disadvantage of the latter.

At Kissingen they stayed five weeks. Little did any of them think that their holiday at Kissingen was destined to be the subject of anxious and midnight debate in the House of Commons! Meanwhile, "unconscious of their doom," they enjoyed themselves at that town, and Mr. Bennett "went through a course of the waters, which were very beneficial to" him, he says.

From Kissingen Mr. Bennett and his party went to Würtzburg, Bamberg, Nuremberg, Ratisbon, Lintz, and thence down the Danube to Vienna.

From Vienna he writes giving his impressions of Kissingen.

"At Kissingen the old priest was a remarkable specimen of simple-mindedness and pastorality of character, leading his flock like sheep. (By the way, I was much delighted here to see the shepherd always preceding his flock, and the sheep following him as a matter of course.) I had a conversation with the priest and he told me all his ways and plans. His simple-mindedness in the articles of his faith and his charity towards those who disagreed or doubted was beautiful. The Services, Litanies, Hymns, Psalms, all, to my surprise, in German. The only service in Latin was the Mass. This had been the case with the churches in the diocese by permission of the Bishop for about 200 years.

"At Bamberg and Ratisbon, both Catholic towns, we saw the utmost extent in regard to ritual purity to which the Roman Communion may be restored. The King of Bavaria had *in propria persona* and *proprio sumptu* restored both these magnificent cathedrals, expelling every image and wax figure and taper, and removing every side altar save one in each church.

"We were all, as you may imagine, astonished at the marvel. It is worth any one's while to see for himself what the Catholic Religion may be and how beautiful it is when so administered.

"A strange contrast and mixture was presented at Nuremberg, which is a two-thirds Lutheran town, for there the people, though following the doctrines and practices of Luther, have retained the most offensive parts of the corrupt Roman system—images of the Virgin and Child with flowers, garlands, etc. Carvings of the Holy Trinity, Altars and Lights in profusion (lighted at the services), *many* Altars at the side decked with Crucifixes, etc., etc.,—all these had been retained—while in the midst there was one solitary 'Geistlicher' to perform the Service. Truly cold and barren it is—psalm-singing while the people *sit* and prayer while they *stand*. Kneeling is an abomination. The Geistlicher lights six candles at the altar (poor S. Barnabas'!)—says that portion of the service which regards the Communion with back to the people and facing a great Crucifix, six feet high, most beautiful, the work of Albert Dürer—while at the right hand is the piscina, etc., and at his left the Tabernacle, all retained—and he dismisses the people with Apostolical blessing, stretching out both arms, and then, with his right hand in the air, making the sign of the cross.—Poor S. Barnabas'! We ought to have been run down for being Lutherans, not Romans. In the sermon the Geistlicher introduces prayer, in which invariably he prays for the sick by name and for the *Dead*, always beginning with the invocation of the Blessed Trinity.

"You may be sure that in attending these services and learning from the people, the principal gratification was the thought that, in no one of my customs introduced at S. B., I had, as accused by the Bishop, been copying Rome; how for every one of them there was good Lutheran authority."

From Vienna they went to Milan, and he writes from there, September 23, 1851—

"We have just arrived at this famous city after a week's most severe travelling and other perils; and right glad I am to get a little rest. I thought to have found some letters here, from Mary and one of the two 'young ladies,' as I told them to direct hither. There may be a mistake at the post-office,

so I must wait patiently; for the authorities at the post-office are most despotic and sometimes take it into their heads not to give out the letters. I trust I shall hear soon.

"We have very little deviated from our intentions all along, keeping very closely to the line of Bamberg, Nuremberg, Ratisbon, the Danube, Vienna. Thence to Ischl, Munich, Innsbruck in the Tyrol, crossing the Alps in the highest pass (the Stelvio) from Innsbruck to the Lago di Como—and now Milan. The last week has been the severest. Halfway up the Stelvio we were greeted with a severe snowstorm, which blocked us up twenty-four hours, and we had to make up our night quarters at a wretched roadside inn—Trefoi—and spend the whole day in looking at the snow descending. We amused ourselves somewhat by getting sledges and going about on the snow and with practising pistol shooting! We *did* get some food (but it was as much as could be said) and some fire, but it was very cold and severe. All these inconveniences were, however, amply made up by the magnificence of the scene. It is the highest pass in Europe. The Ortler, highest point of the Alps, being 12,810 feet above the level of the sea, and the pass itself 9040, the whole being under perpetual snow for 800 feet below the pass. I should think we must have been among the very last travellers who will have made the ascent this year. After this wintry scene and temperature you may conceive how agreeable a change it was to come down upon the lake of Como and its beautiful waters, so gentle and mild.

"Most probably we shall be in England the middle of February, what then is to be done—as to house and dwelling—I know not, but trust in God."

In the next letter, from Venice, October 5, he is expecting to be recalled home by the impending death of his stepfather, Colonel Brandreth, and tells his brother he is ready to come. "Do what you like in regard of me. I am any one's servant NOW."

Speculation, meanwhile, was vigorous as to what

he would do; it is summed up by Mr. Greville in his Memoirs: "whether he would go over to Rome, or start a new sect for himself." The first supposition was natural enough; so many of the same school had taken that course, in despair of the Church of England. But the second alternative only displays the astonishing ignorance then existing (as now) among men of the world as to the aims of the Oxford Movement in general and the utter misconception in particular as to Mr. Bennett's teaching and position. "A new sect!" when his fundamental point was the necessity of obedience to the Church and acceptance of her doctrines; "a new sect!" when his own resignation was due to his strong feeling of "nothing without the Bishop." But Mr. Bennett was no more for the first alternative than for the second, and might have said prophetically, with some witty punster of later days in like position, "I shall neither *re*cede nor *se*cede, but *suc*ceed."

And the opportunity of succeeding very soon came. In November, 1851, the Vicarage of FROOME (so he himself, after the first year or two, always spells the word), in Somerset, became vacant by the death of Mr. Phillott, and on December 19 the living was offered to Mr. Bennett by the Marchioness of Bath, acting on behalf of her son, who was a minor.

The courage needed for this appointment can hardly be realized now, but the outcry which it caused, and which indeed Lady Bath must have been fully prepared for, will show in a new light to what extent Protestant prejudice ran in those days and,

what is here more immediately interesting, how terrible then was the name of "Bennett."

A few words about Lady Bath, to whom Mr. Bennett and the Church owed so much, must by no means be omitted from our history. She was the daughter of the first Lord Ashburton, and, living at the Grange, near Alresford, had been acquainted in her younger days with many of the great writers and statesmen of the time. In later days she was the friend of Keble, Pusey, and other leaders of the Church. When her son attained his majority, she moved from Longleat to Muntham Court, in Sussex, and much of her time was spent in doing good among the poor, and in setting forward, both by money and advice, the restoration of many a dilapidated church.

"Her presence," says a memorial of her at the time of her death, "was an inspiration, but she never taught or preached by words. Her life was her one admonition. The invisible world was to her the reality; this present life the dream; and this also was the source of the courageous enthusiasm which dominated her whole life. She never flinched or shrank back or compromised; she simply practised like a child what she knew to be right, carrying out the noble motto carved on the wall of Muntham Court—

"'Fais ce que tu dois
Advienne que pourra.'"

To this course she kept when she appointed Mr. Bennett as Vicar of Froome, and when the appointment was so furiously assailed.

"I was ever grateful," writes the venerable Lord Nelson, himself, through a long life, a worker for the Church, "to the Marchioness of Bath for acting up to the traditions of her

family, in providing for Mr. Bennett a resting-place at Froome. In doing this she befriended a second Bishop Kenn."

The presentation was made in the end of December, 1851. On January 2, 1852—

"fifty-six of the people of Froome (of whom five were the clergy, and of whom nine soon after expressed their regret at having signed it, and returned to the parish church, so that the real number was forty-two) sent a protest to the patron, and forwarded a copy to the Bishop (Richard Bagot)."

This memorial stated that those who signed it "owed it to God, to their flocks, to their children, to their servants, and to themselves, to protest against" Mr. Bennett's appointment. Only this small number, out of a population of 12,000, could be got to sign this protest.

Lady Bath replied on the following day, that the appointment was made, and could not be revoked. The Bishop replied that he was

"fully satisfied that Mr. Bennett has a firm, deep-rooted attachment to our own Church, and to all the doctrines of the Church of England, repudiating all Romish doctrines."

On the 23rd the protesters obtained a legal opinion from Dr. Twiss, and on the 24th they prepared a "caveat" against the institution of Mr. Bennett. But it was too late, for on Saturday, the 24th, the Bishop instituted Mr. Bennett to the living. The following day he "read himself in."

Mr. Bennett's "Induction" (which it may be well to explain, for the benefit of the unlearned in such matters, is a different thing from "Institution") seems to have

been carried out on the same day as his Institution. To this ceremony of "Induction," which must be performed at the church itself, Lady Bath accompanied Mr. Bennett, amid the infuriated demonstrations of a noisy crowd, and, according to some accounts, showers of stones and eggs. Her courageous determination in the presentation, brought upon her a vast amount of abuse, and it was proposed in a leading article in the *Times* to abolish private patronage entirely!

The scene of battle was now removed to the arena of the House of Commons. The Government of Lord John Russell was at an end. To still the uproar about the "Papal Aggression," Lord John had brought in the "Ecclesiastical Titles" Bill, which provided punishments for those who should assume the title of Bishop of a see in Great Britain, not being Bishops of the Church of England. He explained, however, that it was not intended to enforce this Act, but merely to assert the supremacy of the Crown. On this, *Punch* put forth Leech's amusing cartoon, depicting the Prime Minister as "The boy who chalked up 'No Popery' (on Cardinal Wiseman's door) and then ran away." *Punch* claims that this cartoon overturned the Government, and that Russell himself said it did more to turn out his Government than all the efforts of his political opponents. However this may be, it is certain that this curious policy of passing a Bill not intended for use, his alienation of many supporters, especially the Irish, by his "Durham Letter," and perhaps, a little, Mr. Bennett's showing in his "First Letter," that Lord John had been a

participator in all the "popery" of S. Barnabas',—all these things had weakened his position, and although he was actually defeated by Lord Palmerston over a Militia Bill, there is little doubt that Lord John's tortuous ecclesiastical policy was largely the cause of his fall. On February 27, 1852, Lord Derby became Prime Minister.

It chanced that there was in the House of Commons in those days a member for Cockermouth who rejoiced in the chivalrous name of Horsman. He was "a ruling elder of the kirk," and now thought that he perceived an opportunity of becoming famous, if for nothing else, at any rate as the champion of the most Protestant faith. Accordingly he gave notice on February 18, that he intended to call attention to the subject of Mr. Bennett's appointment to Froome. The change of Government delayed his efforts till April 20, on which day he hurled his spear at Mr. Bennett, at the Marchioness of Bath, and at the Bishop of Bath and Wells—a terrible trio! This missile took the form of a motion—

"that a humble address be presented to her Majesty, praying that she will be graciously pleased to direct inquiry to be made whether due respect was paid to the decrees of the Constitutions and Canons Ecclesiastical of the Church of England in the recent institution of Mr. Bennett to the Vicarage of Froome."

Mr. Horsman, in support of this motion, drew an awful picture of the terrors of the people of Froome, who were supposed to be represented by the gallant forty-two who had signed the protest to Lady Bath.

Instead of forty-two, one would have imagined the whole 12,000 inhabitants in an uproar.

"The people of Froome in an agony of apprehension! in a panic of terror" (such were the glowing colours of his description), "knowing what had taken place in London, and fearing lest a repetition might take place in Froome, rushed to the Lady who exercised the patronage of the vicarage, deprecated the appointment, and entreated her to abstain from a step which might produce the most deplorable results."

But, alas! to these forty-two screams of alarm the Lady and the Bishop had alike turned a deaf ear.

The hon. member then explained to the House the enormities of Mr. Bennett's doctrine. A certain cleric, so far back as the appointment to S. Paul's, had remonstrated with the Bishop.

"I have not found" (had said this Protestant controversialist) "even in the Oxford Tracts, abounding as they do in awful errors, anything in the way of false doctrine more pernicious than in Mr. Bennett's published Sermons."

Then came the crowning enormity of Mr. Bennett—his conduct during his holiday at Kissingen.

Mr. Bennett went to Kissingen apparently in something of the capacity of Chaplain to Sir John Harington. At that moment, after spending every penny of his own savings on S. Barnabas', he was probably not able to afford any foreign travel on his own account. It was then, and to the end of his life, as we shall see hereafter, his opinion that we are guilty of schism in setting up public chapels and chaplains in foreign dioceses, but as a private chaplain he considered himself (at any rate at that time) as

justified in giving communion to his own travelling party. Therefore, after celebrating for his friends, it was his custom to attend the Mass of the Roman church in the place, and not to attend the services of the English chapel there. These fearful misdeeds were not to be concealed. Accordingly Mr. Horsman solemnly read to the House (which was, says Mr. Bennett, "as it were, frightened at some great impending calamity—bewildered, amazed, stupefied") the following letter from a "gentleman" who was, it seems, a "*professor* at one of the seminaries near London." It was addressed to a curate at Macclesfield of the name of Pratt.

"An English clergyman, whose name in the hotel book was Bennett, wearing the peculiarly longitudinal vestment affected by the Puseyite clergy, and travelling in company with Sir John Harington, churchwarden of S. Barnabas', lodged for three weeks at the Hotel de Russie, Kissingen, on the same floor with my rooms. My attention was called to him in the first instance by hearing the German waiters, etc., talking about him—his conduct, with that of his friend, being calculated to attract inquiry as to his religion, the general idea being that he was a Jesuit or a Capuchin. I then found that he and his friend went every morning between seven and eight, as was said, to the Roman Catholic church to the morning service. I never myself saw him in the Roman Catholic church, because I never went there, but I can testify as to the regularity of his morning excursions, and, as every one said that their object was to attend Mass, I presume there is no reason to doubt the fact. During the same period, neither he nor any of his party were to be seen on Sundays at the English chapel. I likewise heard him inquiring about a missal, and saw a Capuchin, or some such monk, going in and out of his room. But I cannot with truth

asseverate[1] that within my knowledge he was his inseparable companion. My rooms were unluckily next to Sir John Harington's; unluckily, as I was very ill, and Sir John constantly talked in so loud a voice that nearly all his talk was forced upon me, the partitions between German rooms being, as you probably know, almost ventriloqual.[2] I was therefore compelled to hear long details about Roman Catholic matters exclusively in which Mr. Bennett was constantly implicated. The whole effect was to leave no doubt on my mind whatever that Mr. Bennett was a thorough Romanist, and I considered it so settled that I was never so astonished as at perceiving in the papers his appointment to Froome."

It is much to be hoped that this learned gentleman did not "profess" either English or Latin; nor yet manners!

In spite, however, of Mr. Bennett's iniquities, as they appeared to the "professor," he had been instituted to the living, and it was, in the opinion of Mr. Horsman, "a new papal aggression."

Disraeli, who was Chancellor of the Exchequer, opposed the motion on various grounds: that the proposed Commission of Inquiry would have no power to obtain evidence and no authority; that other remedies existed and should first be used; that the House of Commons was not a tribunal which should decide upon questions of this sort, and that they would be establishing a precedent "pregnant with difficulty and embarrassment—a precedent for continual mischievous interferences." It would have been well if he had

[1] Probably means "assert."

[2] Such is the professorial word and such the professorial spelling thereof!

always talked so sensibly on the affairs of the Church.

Sir R. Inglis opposed on the same ground as Disraeli—that the House of Commons was not a tribunal.

Pakington, Colonial Secretary, likewise opposed the motion, as did also Lord John Russell, now Opposition leader, who, however, "hedged" by wishing that the Government would consider what steps should be taken.

Mr. Gladstone pointed out that Mr. Horsman was incorrect in several particulars.

A sort of promise of an inquiry of the law officers was given by the Government, and the motion was defeated by 100 to 80, the chief members of the Government voting against it.

On May 11, Mr. Horsman, all impatience, inquired what steps the Government proposed to take, and pressed for an answer. Disraeli answered that "the attention of the Government had been unremitting [*Credat Judæus!*], and that he hoped soon to be able to give an answer." This hope he realized on May 14, when he informed Mr. Horsman that the Crown lawyers had reported that her Majesty had no means of efficient inquiry; that the Church Discipline Act gave sufficient power, and any parishioner might have put it in force, but none had done so, and, finally (which was the cream of the joke), that if the House of Commons had passed Mr. Horsman's motion they would have been advising the Queen To Violate the Bill of Rights!

"Dizzy," internally smiling, produced this alarming reply with becoming gravity, and the House of Commons turned pale at the thought of the enormity into which it had so nearly been betrayed. But the irrepressible Horsman was again upon his legs with further questions, on which the Chancellor of the Exchequer informed the House that "a very different story was told in some letters about the events at Kissingen," and Mr. Gladstone said he could show that the Bishop had acted quite correctly.

Yet again, on May 19 and 20, Mr. Horsman had explanations to make and questions to ask; and on the latter day Lord Castlereagh solemnly put a question "whether Mr. Bennett were a member of the Church of England," a question which, after receiving a letter from Mr. Bennett, he withdrew on the 24th. But on the 28th the subject of Mr. Bennett was again before the House, when Mr. Yorke said that—

"in justice to Mr. Bennett, who was, he was proud to say, a friend of his, and whom he honoured as one of the best men living, he thought it right to say that the reverend gentleman had already been judged by the parishioners of Froome. He [Mr. Yorke] held in his hand a memorial, in the course of signature, which had already been signed by 1039 of the parishioners, in which they expressed their sympathy with him, and their deep regret at the uncourteous and unkind treatment he had received."

He added that the parish church was crowded and the number of communicants increased.

Mr. Horsman, undaunted by defeat, was again to

the fore on July 8, and gained his first success, only to meet in the end with a more ridiculous fiasco.

On that day he moved for a Select Committee "to inquire into the circumstances connected with the institution of Mr. Bennett to the Vicarage of Froome." He had now some new tales with which to terrify the House, among others that Mr. Bennett carried about with him a stone altar "which was set up and Mr. Bennett performed religious service before it."

At this point the proceedings were enlivened by a curious incident. Mr. Feargus O'Connor, either in his excitement at Mr. Horsman's eloquence, or with the Irish object of "creating a confeesion," gave Sir R. Hall, who sat next to him, a "dig in the ribs." Sir R. Hall, not appreciating this delicate attention, "complained to the Speaker. Mr. Speaker reproved Mr. O'Connor, who addressed Mr. Speaker excitedly and incoherently." At last, however, he was persuaded to apologize to Sir R. Hall, and the incident terminated. Mr. O'Connor was soon after sent to an asylum.

After this interlude Mr. Gladstone defended Mr. Bennett. The churchwarden, Mr. Miller, had sent him a letter, in which he said that

"the appointment is not unacceptable to the parishioners. The inhabitants of Froome are under great obligations to the House of Thynne, but none do they more cheerfully recognize and more gratefully appreciate than the appointment of Mr. Bennett. Congregations have increased by a third, and last Sunday there was a congregation of 2000."

Gladstone also again defended the Bishop, who

had (he said) subjected Mr. Bennett to a due examination as to his opinions.

Sir W. Page Wood explained that this was a grave constitutional question.

Then Mr. Goulburn moved an amendment—that the words be "a Select Committee to inquire into the state of the law affecting the institution to benefices in the Church of England," thus making the motion general, not personal. But this was too much in the way of common sense for the House, and they negatived the amendment.

Finally Mr. Horsman carried *his* motion, and the House agreed to the appointment of a Select Committee by 156 to 111.

It now devolved on Mr. Horsman to nominate his committee, and accordingly, after preliminary skirmishes on June 10 and 11, he drew up his line of battle. His list contained the Home Secretary (S. H. Walpole), the Solicitor General, Sir D. Dundas, Gladstone, Sir W. Page Wood, Mr. Newdegate, and others. But, alas! there was an immediate mutiny in the ranks. Mr. Gladstone refused to act because the proceedings were unconstitutional. Walpole objected to the Committee altogether. On subsequent evenings others backed out of it on one ground or another; the House was, in fact, weary of Mr. Horsman, and wished Mr. Bennett's vicarage had been in the moon, or at any rate "at Jericho." Some humorous member had proposed that Mr. Horsman be himself a member of the Committee, and in the result he found himself

a committee of *one*, and announced that he had abandoned the idea of proceeding any further.

The General Election came in August, and the electors of Cockermouth, basely neglectful of the heroism of their Protestant champion, chose another member instead of him.

In his "Second Letter to Lord John Russell," Mr. Bennett comments on all these proceedings. It was published between the elections in August and the meeting of Parliament in November, 1852.

"Happily for the nation and for me," he says, "the Parliament elected in 1847 is now extinct."

He goes on to liken the proceedings to a sort of trial: "myself the accused—Mr. Horsman the council for the prosecution—the House of Commons the jury." And he complains that (as an accused person should be) he had not been informed beforehand what the charge was; the particulars of Mr. Horsman's charge *not having been given until the evening before;* that consequently there was no one in the House to answer for him. "There was only one brief in Court, and that for the prosecution."

"The Courts never allow hearsay evidence." But nevertheless the House of Commons had done so.

"Turn, my Lord, to the evidence, and your practised eye will observe how it depends on mere tittle-tattle and gossip. There are the observations of waiters at a German hotel; there is the talk of some English travellers sojourning in a strange place; above all, there is the evidence of the anonymous eavesdropper listening at key-holes and applying his ears to 'ventriloquial walls.' We are told that this '*gentleman*' is a 'Professor' in some place of education near London; but his

name is not given by Mr. Horsman—so far fortunately. What this 'Professor' heard through the 'ventriloquial' wall we are not told. He only gives his *inference* drawn from what he heard—not the very things he heard. It is thus. The 'Professor' communicates his inference from what he heard through the wall to a Macclesfield curate; the Macclesfield curate, being at Clifden in the County of Galway, and having received the mural intelligence from the 'Professor,' conveys it to the *Achill Herald.* Then the *Achill Herald* is transmitted to the clients at Froome; then the clients at Froome give instructions on the same to their counsel in the House of Commons; and the counsel in the House of Commons delivers *his* inference from the 'Professor's' inference to the Court! And what does it all amount to? There is something about a 'missal,' something about 'morning excursions,' and something about 'Rome.' To the fact of having a missal I plead guilty; to the morning excursions I plead guilty; and to the fact that my conversation did frequently turn on the subject of Rome I plead guilty. But then, my Lord, what is the conclusion? That a Bishop of the English Church is condemned by the House of Commons because he institutes a priest who has a missal, takes morning excursions, and talks about Rome. May we not say with Hippolyta—

'This is the silliest stuff that ever I heard;'

or rather, if we treat it at all seriously, may we not apply to the learned gentleman the saying of the Son of Sirach: 'A fool will peep in at the door into the house, but he that is well nurtured will stand without. It is the rudeness of a man to hearken at the door, but a wise man will be grieved at the disgrace'?"

Mr. Bennett next points out that the House, being unversed in such matters, should have imitated a law court in getting expert evidence as to the matters in question. In the end they had consulted the lawyers, who after four weeks' deliberation gave their opinion already mentioned as to the Bill of Rights.

"I turn to the Bill of Rights," says Mr. Bennett, "and I find it there said that 'The lords spiritual and temporal and commons declare: 3. *That the Commission for erecting the late Court of Commissioners for Ecclesiastical Causes and* ALL *other* COMMISSIONS *and* COURTS *of like nature are illegal and pernicious.*'"

Mr. Bennett asks whether the House of Commons, "brimful of religious liberty," wished to go back to the Ecclesiastical tyranny of Elizabeth or of James II.?

"Review the case," he says. "Slander and falsehood had been greedily taken in and listened to for months; the privileges of the House sheltered its members against the law of libel which otherwise might have given the Attorney General a different opportunity of explaining the Bill of Rights, and the Solicitor General another platform for expounding the Canons ecclesiastical.

"The Government, desirous of showing its affection for the Church, and yet not exactly knowing how to punish the priest without implicating the Bishop, held a dubious balance between policy and truth, and destroyed both.

"Another weary night and another weary night; Maynooth first, then Froome; the 8th of June arrived, and then another debate which the Government, openly denying, secretly lent its voice to foster and encourage.

"You will remind me, my Lord, that the Government voted against the Committee of Inquiry. I am aware that they *voted* against it; but they spoke in favour of it. '*Cabinet Ministers alleged themselves anxious for inquiry*,' says Mr. Horsman (*Morning Chronicle*, June 9, 1852).

"No wonder the debate of June 8 ended in a division against the Government. No wonder, my Lord, that the House involved itself in a dilemma, from which it could not be extricated without altogether lowering its character and approaching very nearly to the confines of the ludicrous. It was the just punishment of the whole series of debates, and

of those who took part in them, that they came to the conclusion which they did. The creation which they had so incautiously raised up, as in the case of Frankenstein, became a monster from which they all fled away; and no sooner had they obtained their Committee of Inquiry than they found they had nothing to inquire into. They had a Committee, but they had no members. They had raised their child among them; but each man said it was none of his. They looked in wonder at the achievement of their long and anxious debates, and each man asked the other how it got there; and they crept out of the dilemma as best they could, in something between a laugh and a cry—

> "'Quid dignum tanto feret hic promissor hiatu?
> Parturiunt montes, nascetur ridiculus mus!'"[1]

Mr. Bennett then proceeds to demolish a number of accusations which Mr. Horsman had brought against him, among others the story of the consecrated stone. "I never was possessed of a consecrated stone," he replies.

"Well, my Lord," he says, after enumerating all these tales, "need I go on? This kind of deliberate, helter-skelter assertion, as a fact, of any matter that seemed to bubble up on the surface of the imagination of the late member for Cockermouth, is very painful. It is like one whom you may remember—

> "'Ἀμετροεπὴς ἐκολῳα
> ὅς ῥ' ἔπεα φρεσὶν ἧσιν ἄκοσμα τε πολλά τε ἤδη.'[2]

We cannot tell where to meet him; he has so many tales to tell, so many witnesses of wonderful things they never saw, so many——

"But, my Lord, I will not weary you."

[1] Horace, "Ars Poetica," 138: "What will this promisser give us worthy of such a wide open mouth? The mountains are in labour, nothing will be born but a ridiculous mouse."

[2] "Iliad," ii. 212: "Thersites, who had by heart sayings many and disgraceful, kept on scolding with endless words."

Thus Mr. Bennett put his accusers in the pillory; and the reader, who has gone through the debates, will quite agree that *that* House of Commons, *that* Government, and *that* member for Cockermouth, all richly deserved it. But the pamphlet, like other "sequels," did not have, it seems, so large a circulation as the "First Letter" had.

In the remainder of this letter Mr. Bennett reviews Mr. Horsman's statements about the Bishop and the institution to Froome, the protest of the forty-two parishioners, and his attendance at Mass. The Bishop had acted in perfect accordance with the Canons. The protest of the forty-two had been supplemented by a petition of 103 persons signed at a private factory, and met by a counter address signed in five days by 1032 parishioners. The "deplorable results" which Mr. Horsman expected were that the communicants had increased from 620 in February and May, 1851, to 710 in the corresponding period of 1852.

"The crowded state of the parish church," says this address, "and the increased number of communicants afford the best proof that you have not been thrust upon an unwilling congregation."

As to the attendance at Roman Catholic places of worship when abroad, he defends himself upon the principle that as Romanists are in schism in this country, so are we in foreign dioceses if we set up altar against altar in them. This view he afterwards set forth more strongly still in a little book published later in his life. He also points out that innumerable other

clergymen had attended Mass (some confessedly out of mere curiosity) in Roman Catholic countries, and among them the Bishop of Oxford (Wilberforce) at the very moment Mr. Horsman was delating Mr. Bennett in the House for this shocking crime! He reminds his Lordship that on July 22, 1851, the LORD CHANCELLOR and Lady Truro, with a large number of Protestant notabilities, went to the marriage of Lord E. Howard, and afterwards attended Mass at the chapel of the Bavarian Embassy, the Lord Chancellor giving away the bride.

With this letter the Horsman affair came to an end. Lord Derby's Government was succeeded in December, 1852, by Lord Aberdeen's. Henceforth the House of Commons let Mr. Bennett alone, and he settled quietly down to his thirty-four years' work at Froome.

CHAPTER X

FROOME—RESTORATION—SERVICES—ORGANIZATION —FINANCES

Froome a "hive of schism" then.
I. Restoration of church.
  Previous improvements.
  Progress; first "Octave," 1856.
  Service on the top of the spire.
  Brief description now.
II. Ritual: Mr. Bennett's argument for it, but against rigid uniformity.
  Brief history of the restoration of ritual.
  By others.
  Ritual at Portman Chapel.
    His golden rule of explanation first.
  At S. Paul's, Knightsbridge.
  At S. Barnabas'.
    The neighbouring dinner-bell.
  At Froome.
  State of things.
  Bishop Sparrow's advice carried out, as to the hour of Celebration.
  Ritual of Baptism.
  Octaves.
III. Organization.
  Mr. Carter, of Clewer, on this.
  At S. Paul's.
  At S. Barnabas'.
    Organization during the Cholera.
  At Froome.
    Districts.
    Schools.
    "The College."
    The *Old Church Porch*: a precursor of parochial magazines.
    Societies, Classes, etc.
    Missions.
  Helpers.
  Curates at S. Barnabas'.
  Curates at Froome.
IV. Finances: At S. Barnabas'; At Froome.
  (1) Of church restoration.
  (2) Of current expenses.
    Abolition of church rates, and of pew rents.
    All offerings "laid on the Lord's Table."

THE town of Froome was originally called Froome-Selwood, to distinguish it from many other "Fromes" scattered over England. It derived its name from the little river on which it is built, as do some other

"Fromes" from their rivers. The name is pronounced as "Froome," and for this reason Mr. Bennett, who had something of an affection for phonetic spelling, always, after the first year or two of his incumbency, wrote the word "Froome."

The name of the town no doubt comes from its little river, and Mr. Bennett derives the word from a Teutonic root, "fromm," signifying "pure," a name no longer applicable to the river in its present state! But the Rawlinsonian Professor of Anglo-Saxon kindly informs me that the name of the little stream, as of the many other "Fromes," is of Celtic origin, and is derived from a word which in early Celtic would have the form "frāma," whence comes the modern Welsh "ffraw," as in the river name "Aberffraw." This, borrowed by the Saxons, would become, in Old English, "Frōm," and in later English, "Froom." This is historically the more correct spelling and justifies Mr. Bennett in his way of writing the word.

The meaning is probably merely "river."

Mr. Bennett, as we have seen, estimated the population when he was appointed at 12,000, and it continued at nearly the same figure during his incumbency, being in 1891, 11,500. The population of the district attached to the parish church, was, however, not above 3000, the churches of Holy Trinity, of Christ Church, and of S. Katharine's, Woodlands, supplying the needs of the rest of the people.

The population is largely manufacturing, there being works of broadcloth "and other fine woollens,"

as also foundries, and the town is likewise said to be "noted for its ale!"

The state of the town as regards dissent was terrible. So far back as 1819, Mr. S. Hyde Cassan, Curate-in-charge (Mr. Phillott, the Vicar, being non-resident), described the place in a sermon on this subject as

"one of the grand hives of schism, where very many of those who are professed members of the Church are in the regular habit of attending also the conventicle."

And in the notes to this sermon, which was published, he asks—

"Where can Dissenters be more fitly opposed than in such a schismatical place as Froome, where they are almost as four to one to Churchmen?"

And again—

"A town unhappily proverbial for its mongrel Churchmen and liberalizing religionists."

It must have continued much the same down to Mr. Bennett's time, for in the *Old Church Porch* he says, in 1854—

"Our poor old Church so utterly gone from the hearts of the poor; every kind of spurious worship and religious error embraced with eagerness; every man doing that which was right in his own eyes."

It was therefore no easy-chair in which he now found himself placed. There was plenty to do, and he set himself with all his energy to do it.

The work which he accomplished at Froome seems

to divide itself into the heads of: I. The restoration of the church; II. The services, music, and ritual; III. The organization of the parish; and it will be also interesting to record the story of—IV. The Finances.

I. We must first describe the history of the great work of restoring the splendid old Church of S. John the Baptist.

Those who knew Mr. Bennett in his later years only will hardly be able to separate him in their recollections from the church which he so wonderfully restored. "The Vicar" and the church seemed to form one whole.

Mr. Freeman, once lecturing on the church at Froome, complained that he had a difficulty in making out its history, and would have liked to have seen it before it "was pulled about." This is no doubt in the correct antiquarian spirit, which regards an old church as a building to be placed under a glass cover and lectured about, rather than as a place for worship. But the great excellence of the restoration was precisely in this very point that the church was restored as closely as could be ascertained to its former state, and at the same time most perfectly adapted to the splendid services which were to be held there.

"There is no restoration of any church in England to be compared with it," said Archdeacon Denison, in his memorial sermon.

The old church consisted, in 1852, of nave with two aisles, chancel, two porches, four chapels, tower and spire. To this the only addition in the course of

the restoration was the enlargement of the vestry, which had been too small. The history of the church in brief is this: a church was probably built in Saxon times on the spot by S. Aldhelm, Abbot of Malmsbury, which was rebuilt in the time of King Stephen. It was enlarged at various periods, and contains work of the original Saxon church, and likewise of the Norman, Early English, Decorated and Perpendicular styles, so that its story is wonderfully complete. The four chapels—the Lady Chapel, and those of S. Nicholas, S. John the Baptist, and S. Andrew—were added at various times.

It had reached a state of almost ruinous decay. Galleries blocked up the aisles; fire-engines were stored there; chapels were filled with rubbish; the tower and spire had been in a dangerous state since 1736. But in 1845 Lady Bath had repaired the chancel; the south chapel had been restored in 1844 in memory of Bishop Ken, whose grave lies just to the east of the chancel; the fire-engine had been expelled from S. Andrew's Chapel; the fragments of the font had been unearthed by Mr. Dusautoy, the Curate, and the restored font was replaced in its old position in 1846; attempts were made to strengthen the tower and spire, but, as we shall see, without much success; Mr. Wyatt, "the eminent architect," spoiled the façade of the west front; and the roof of the chancel was made entirely new also in 1846.

Yet in spite of these improvements already effected, Mr. Bennett's description of the state of the church, when he arrived there in 1852, is terrible. The

churchyard, he tells us, was filled with nettles; mounds of graves were piled up so high as to be above the base mouldings of the church; the walls, in consequence, were mouldering into rottenness. The tower bulged out from its foundation; the spire inclined to one side; in the roof of the nave the beams were in several places separated from the walls, which were supposed to support them; the chancel arch had gaping rents on each side, showing that it was parting from the tower; and the north wall, overwhelmed by the weight of the galleries, was dragging down with it in its settling the pillars of the north aisle, its foundations having been apparently undermined by the numberless burials on the north side of the church.

Inside, the arrangements were of a parallel nature. The reading-desk was placed about the centre of the church on the south side, halfway between the west door and the chancel; below, the clerk's desk, above, the pulpit—the usual "three-decker." Pews of various dimensions and shapes surrounded this structure—some oblong, some square, some circular. Those to the west of the reading-desk faced towards the chancel, but those to the east of it faced towards the west and turned their backs on the altar. Towards the pulpit all eyes were directed; for that as the principal end of worship the arrangements of the church were constructed.

"In fact, the church seemed but little other than a mass of wooden offices, barricading off, with solitary exclusiveness, each man from his neighbour. It was the type and relic of

the Puritanism of the sixteenth century. The pulpit was the attraction ; the altar was out of sight."

The reformation commenced at once. In the summer of 1852 the pews in and near the chancel were abandoned by their owners. Temporary benches were placed in the chancel, and the prayers were chanted from a desk placed therein, with a choir of boys at the side of the priest. By 1854 the churchyard was levelled and made into terraces. "The alterations in the churchyard was a work he *would* have done reverently, and spent many a day seeing everything replaced with reverence." In the same year the pews which faced westward were removed, and open seats put in their place. In 1855 the pulpit was moved to the north side of the chancel arch, and the remaining pews were changed for open seats. The galleries were pulled down in 1856. Such changes brought about in so short a time, and at that date, are very interesting, as showing the hold Mr. Bennett had so quickly gained upon the affections of his parishioners. "They cheerfully abandoned all prejudices," he says, "about their pews—prejudices which were at that time very strong."

The progress made in four years seemed to justify an act of thanksgiving. Accordingly, the first of the "Octaves" was held in the year 1856. The preachers were: Dr. Pusey; Upton Richards, of All Saints', London; Prynne, of Devonport; Evans, of S. Andrew's, London; Archdeacon Denison; and Woodford, Rector of Kempsford, afterwards Bishop.

Keble was prevented from coming by illness, but his sermon was read by Dr. Pusey.

The good will which he had won from all his parishioners was yet more strongly shown in 1858, when 164 persons, including Dissenters and Dissenting ministers, subscribed to purchase and present to the Vicar and churchwardens a shop which stood much in the way of projected improvements in the churchyard.

But all this had scarcely touched the ever-recurrent question of the safety of the whole building, and in 1860 Mr. C. E. Giles, who acted throughout as architect, reported that the church was in parts altogether unsafe, and that with more delay the complete rebuilding of the church might become a necessity. As the work progressed, the state of the building was found to be worse than could at first be seen, and it was necessary to rebuild the whole of the north side of the church, including the porch and the Chapel of S. Nicholas. The north arcade had also to be taken down and replaced on new foundations. The roof of the nave had to be replaced, and the tower and spire made safe. When this latter work had been accomplished, a service was held on Saturday, October 22, 1865, on the summit of the scaffolding of the spire (as had been done at S. Barnabas' when the top of that spire was reached), and the *Te Deum* was sung there. "The service," says the *Froome Times*, "was distinctly heard in many parts of the town, notwithstanding the roughness of the weather." At the same time the weathercock was replaced in its socket by the Vicar and workmen.

The whole of these works occupied the years 1860 to 1866, and in that year Mr. Bennett published his history and description of the church, dating his preface, "Preparing for the Feast of S. John the Baptist, 1866."

To describe adequately the church as it now is would be merely to transcribe Mr. Bennett's own book. It will suffice to notice the special characters of the scheme of ornament.

The church was without any doubt dedicated in honour of S. John the Baptist; nevertheless, an idea had sprung up that S. Peter had been its Patron Saint. Investigation of old documents proved clearly that Mr. Bennett was not "robbing Peter to pay" S. John, when he restored the name of the Baptist. It was, however, curious that one of the side chapels was also in honour of S. John the Baptist, and this chapel was now devoted to the organ, for which its position well suited it. The Chapel of S. Nicholas became the baptistery.

The whole is full of history and symbolism. Thus in the stained windows of the aisles is depicted the history of S. John the Baptist; in the Chapel of S. Nicholas, the history of that Saint; in the Lady Chapel, the history of the B.V.M., with its types and prophecies; round the font on the floor are the seven virtues expelling the seven deadly sins; the floor of the chancel is ornamented with exquisite marbles from various places—Connemara to Egypt. At the west end within are figures of S. Aldhelm, S. Alban, S. Andrew, and S. George.

Outside, the west front has figures of the four Evangelists, and above, of S. John the Baptist; the Lady Chapel has the Madonna and Child; the vestry a figure of S. Katharine; and the south porch a sculpture of the healing of the lame man at the Beautiful Gate of the Temple.

But the glory of the churchyard is the *Via Crucis*. This leads up the hill from the street below to the north door. Under canopies are sculptures of Our Lord condemned by Pilate; Our Lord going forth bearing His cross; Our Lord falling under His cross, and supported by Simon of Cyrene; Our Lord meeting the daughters of Jerusalem and His mother; Our Lord stripped of His raiment; and Our Lord nailed to the cross; the seventh being the Death on the cross, placed over the door of the north porch.

On the south side of the church was erected in the churchyard a stone cross which, for some untraceable reason, he brought away from the quadrangle of S. Barnabas'.

One prominent part of all old churches he did not, for some reason, restore—the rood screen and loft. To the writer remarking that he ought to complete the work by this, he merely replied that he must leave *something* for his successors to do. Undoubtedly he had not left much for them, but it may fairly be concluded from this reply, and from his giving no other reason for not having restored it, that he would not have in any way objected to the replacement of the rood screen, which was admirably carried out by his successor, Mr. Hanbury-Tracy. This restoration

seemed the more called for on account of the rare and curious fact that an old piscina still exists on the level of the upper part of the rood loft, from which it may be safely concluded that it had been the custom to say Mass on the top of the screen, and that an altar had been originally upon it. There were altars, it is known, on the screen loft at York Minster, at Grantham, and Little Hereford; and at Westminster Abbey and at Little Hereford there was a piscina in the loft, as at Froome.

An immense number of gifts, from parishioners and outsiders alike, contributed to the beauty of the church, but the point on which Mr. Bennett seemed to pride himself most was this: "The old church still continues," and reviewing the work that had been done he repeats—

"Our great pride and delight has been that the church now does not in the least differ from the church of the olden time. It is 'THE OLD CHURCH STILL.'"

II. Great was the change which came over the spirit of the services of the Church of England in the last half of the nineteenth century. Instead of "preaching houses," the churches became truly "places of worship." And the period of greatest change was probably the twenty years which followed the consecration of S. Barnabas'.

Mr. Bennett was one of the earliest and most thorough of the restorers, by means of music and ritual, of that warmth and beauty which the worship of God ought to have. Ritual is, of course, like the use of the voice or the bending of the knee in the services, itself

an act of adoration; but Mr. Bennett lays much more stress upon it as setting forth doctrine before the eyes of men. Every one knows the dictum of the old Roman poet as to the different effect on the minds of men of telling them a tale and of acting it before them, and Mr. Bennett was one of the first to see that if the doctrines of the Movement were to be brought to the masses of the people it must be by means of ritual.

"Such is the weakness of man," he says, "that doctrine would perish unless it were preserved under the external guardianship and shelter of forms and rites."

In his farewell letter to the people of S. Paul's and S. Barnabas' he replies to the accusation brought against him that he had deserted them merely on a question of ceremonial. He points out at length that under the ceremonies principles were at stake. For instance—

"In bowing to the altar and doing reverence in going in or out of the chancel—what is the doctrine conveyed? The presence of GOD, and at the altar His presence in a most special manner."

He quotes the Bishop of London's own words in his charge of 1850—

"I would have you to consider whether the vague and uncertain notions respecting Baptism which have prevailed in the Church for the last hundred years have not in a great degree been owing to the careless and irregular administration of the Sacrament itself. The office mutilated—the font thrust into a corner out of sight of the congregation."

Mr. Bennett comments on these excellent words of the Bishop thus—

"Now, what is true of one Sacrament is surely true of another. The doctrine of Regeneration has been lost or perverted because, among other reasons, 'the font has been thrust into a corner' and treated irreverently. Is it not the same with the Altar? Suppose we had always faithfully retained due reverence for that most holy place—treated it with respect and devotion—decked it with ornaments suited to its sacredness—made that obeisance before it which the Canons permit—would not those outward emblematic actions have trained us up in a spirit more ready to receive the doctrine of the Real Presence and the Sacrifice?"

He gives another reason for ritual—the nature of man. Religion cannot be a matter of pure intellect.

"If GOD had willed us to be entirely and solely spiritual He would have given us spirits without the encumbrances of the flesh.

"Hence GOD in His mercy has ever made religion sacramental, in order that it might accord with the nature of man's life. It is sacramental to suit both extremes; partly external to meet the weakness of nature in the objects of the body; and partly internal to meet the same weakness of nature in the objects of the soul; partly material to lead the mind from things without to things within; partly spiritual to adapt the spirit for the contentions of the world in things visible and without.

"Thus, then, I contend for externals. Thus I contend for the things of GOD in His worship—that they cannot be too great, too glorious, too magnificent—that they cannot be studied with too accurate minuteness, too anxious care or too earnest love."

Yet one more point of his views on ritual deserves notice. In his "Plea for Toleration" he asks, "Why

should we be all alike?" He describes the variations of ritual within the Roman Communion; Milan different from Venice; Vienna from Paris; Jesuits from Oratorians; while in Cistercian monasteries there is no decoration and no sculpture but the crucifix; candelabra of iron; censers of copper; few lamps or tapers; vestments of linen or cotton; the chalice itself of some base metal; and the music of a severely simple kind. In places the Greek rite is allowed. All the trouble comes, he says, from the Act of Uniformity.

The movement for the revival of ritual in the services followed that for the restoration of doctrine at a considerable distance. Although the earlier leaders "were very anxious about ritual," as Dr. Pusey said, they seem to have feared to introduce it till the doctrines had first been accepted. It was, however, certain to follow. Newman, even so far back as 1836, had a stone altar at Littlemore which was carved and conspicuous by its beauty. Dodsworth, at Christ Church, Albany Street, was allowed flowers "in moderation" on his altar, about 1843, although the Bishop had, in 1842, in his charge expressed his strong disapprobation of flowers altogether, especially if they "had some fancied analogy to the history of the saint who is commemorated," *i.e.* apparently in their colours, as in using red on the festival of a martyr.

In 1839 Oakeley began his work at the little Margaret Chapel, on the site of which All Saints, Margaret Street, was afterwards built. He desired "an opportunity of trying the effect of Tractarian principles upon a practical scale." The place was

frequented by Gladstone, Littleton, and others equally well known, and Oakeley was assisted by Newman and "Ideal" Ward. In celebrating he wore only the old-fashioned garments—surplice, scarf and hood. Nor, of course, did any one in those days venture on anything further. He was allowed candles on the altar, provided he did not light them, and *one* bouquet of flowers (which must have looked rather queer), and the restriction as to not having flowers of appropriate colours was insisted on! He might preach in a surplice in the morning, but must observe the important ritual of exchanging it for a black gown in the evening. He had *one* chorister by his side in a surplice! He had daily Mattins at 8 a.m. and daily Evensong at 5, and they sang the psalms to Redhead's Gregorian psalter called *Laudes Diurnæ*. It is amusing to learn that introducing alms-bags was "a perilous novelty." None of these things caused any sensation—Margaret Chapel was probably too little known.

A little advance in ritual was made by Mr. Upton Richards, who succeeded Mr. Oakeley in 1845, at Margaret Chapel, but such terrible doings as those we have described may be considered as the ritual of the "advanced" Church of the days before 1845.

Mr. Bennett began his part in the work of reviving ritual at Portman Chapel, which was his first independent charge. "All things were done reverently and carefully; the pulpit was not put before the altar, the prayers were not read to the people," says Mr. Wakeling. In 1841 he published his sermon on "The

neglect and apathy of the public in the psalmody and responses in the Church Services." In this he chiefly complains of the people taking no part in the services, compares the Church unfavourably with the Dissenters and their vigorous singing, and urges his hearers to display the like enthusiasm.

He made it a rule throughout his life to explain beforehand the reason for any change.

"Nothing was ever done in a hurry or without long and careful preparation by sermons and teaching, in various ways. Before the beginning of the daily Celebration, and, again, of the use of incense (at Froome), he preached during a lengthened period on worship under the Jewish dispensation, and then in its higher development in the Christian Church. Another course of sermons on 'The letter killeth, but the Spirit giveth life,' preceded some other change. He had a great dislike of anything fussy or exaggerated, and always desired that ritual should be the expression in act of doctrine and reverent worship, and taught that without this it was valueless." [1]

It was soon after Mr. Bennett's sermon on "The apathy of the people in worship" that the Bishop of London gave his charge of 1842. In this he openly gave his advice in favour of ceremony. His words were admirable, and deserve to be recorded not only for their own truth but, in our immediate subject, because they had so strong an effect in confirming Mr. Bennett in his views on ritual. The most important sentence was this—

"The truth is, reverend brethren, that until the Church's intentions are completely fulfilled as to her ritual, we do not

[1] From Mr. and Mrs. Compton, formerly of Woodlands Vicarage, near Froome.

know what the Church really is nor what she is capable of effecting. It is the instrument by which she seeks to realize and apply her doctrines; and the integrity and purity of the one may, as to their effect, be marred and hindered, in what degree we know not, by a defective observance of the other."

It was scarcely wonderful that, after hearing these words, which so fully agreed with his own ideas, a young and vigorous priest should set himself to discover what those "intentions" of the Church were, and then to do his best to "fulfil" them. Yet for so doing, and that in a very limited and cautious way, the Bishop, terrified by a mob, turned him out of S. Barnabas'!

His beginnings were, indeed, "a day of small things." On January 1, 1843, he introduced some very startling novelties at Portman Chapel. He was himself ill, and his assistant, Mr. Beaufort, who succeeded him as minister of the chapel, explained these changes in his sermon, which was published. They were "consequent on the Bishop's charge," and being summed up amounted to the following: Surplice in pulpit in morning, but black gown in evening, as recommended by the Bishop; the use of "The Bidding Prayer" (in which the people are told for what they are to pray and for what they are to praise God; ending with the Lord's Prayer) before the sermon, in accordance with the 55th Canon; the use of the new psalter compiled by Mr. Bennett and his organist; and an alteration which depended on the congregation themselves—that henceforth they were to STAND at the offering of Praise and KNEEL at the Confession, the Absolution, and the Blessing.

What they did before Mr. Beaufort sayeth not, but we may guess from Mr. Bennett's records in Chapter II.

Beyond these very moderate improvements there was no advance made at Portman Chapel, which was not, it seems, an entirely independent charge, and in the course of 1843 Mr. Bennett was transferred to S. Paul's, Knightsbridge. In May of that year, before his removal to S. Paul's, he published his "Letters to my Children," to those who were "literally so, but in a second sense to those who were spiritually so." In this work he prophesies the speedy disappearance of the black gown in the pulpit and the restoration of the *cope* at the Celebration, conceiving at that time that *that* vestment was the one intended by the Church of England. He interprets the Ornaments rubric to include also the use of two lights on the altar at the Celebration, and says—

> "This, among other emblematic and spiritual signs of our Church, will be reserved for you, my dear children, to appreciate and rejoice in."

He did not expect, it seems, to introduce them himself.

But in 1845, in his book "On the Principles of the Book of Common Prayer," he contends for the use of the lights, of the Eucharistic vestments, and of the pastoral staff and mitre for Bishops, and again prophesies that they will reappear.

In the same book he admirably sets forth the

case for monotoning the prayers—on the ground that the prayers are not intended to *teach some doctrine* while they are being said, nor to *impress* the congregation, but to be addressed to GOD.

We have already, in Chapter III., described the services at S. Paul's, Knightsbridge. The most striking of his improvements were: daily service from 1846; lights at the Celebration, of which the date is uncertain; from 1848 an early Celebration on Sundays; and the use of the eastward position in a modified form. At first when he went to S. Paul's, he stood at the north end of the altar till the Prayer of Consecration, then he went to the front of the altar and stood so that the "manual acts" might be seen. During the last five years at S. Paul's he used the eastward position throughout.

A much greater advance was made at S. Barnabas'. If S. Paul's was a proper sphere for the experiment of reviving ceremonial, much more so clearly was S. Barnabas'.

I have already given something of the ritual at S. Barnabas'; it is interesting historically to note the points to which ritual had attained in 1850 somewhat more completely.

The eastward position was used at that time, he tells us, by Mr. Upton Richards, Mr. Dodsworth, Mr. Murray, Mr. Irons, and some others in London diocese, and by Manning and others in the country.

Mr. Bennett placed the epistoler and gospeller "at the steps," *i.e.* facing eastward. In other places they stood at the south of the altar.

The two candles on the altar were lighted at all Celebrations.

He had advocated the revival of the vestments in 1842 and 1845; so that we are not surprised to be told in the "Plea for Toleration" that—

"in 1850 the vestments were prepared for use at S. Barnabas', but misfortunes came upon us through Lord John Russell's Durham Letter, and they were set aside for the time."

The choir at S. Barnabas' wore black cassocks, and those surplices, which were in fashion for a time, made in an exact circle with a hole in the centre for the head, and without sleeves.

The surplice was used in the pulpit both in the morning and evening.

At the commencement of the sermon the Invocation was used, and both the preacher and others present made the sign of the cross.

The offerings at the Eucharist were received by the priest and offered upon the altar, the priest standing in front of the altar to do so. This, which is now almost invariable even in the most Low Church places, was, it seems, so little the custom then that Mr. Bennett had to specially request the Bishop to do it at the consecration of S. Barnabas'. The point would not have been worth mentioning had it not been for an extra piece of ritual which Mr. Bennett wished to introduce at the consecration, but with which the Bishop would not comply. It was, and still is, the normal custom at Westminster Abbey for the clergy in the presbytery, both canons and minor canons, to present their offerings at the altar

individually. Mr. Bennett wished this to be done at the consecration of S. Barnabas'. The Bishop demurred. He

"considered this mode of offering to be at variance with the rubric which directs the alms to be *collected* and placed on the Holy Table by the priest, as the representative, I conceive, of the whole Church. I am aware [the Bishop adds] of an inferential argument in its favour; but I do not think it sufficient."

This "inferential argument" is apparently from the custom at various places—S. John's College, Oxford; S. Augustine's, Canterbury; and S. George's, Windsor, where it is the custom for the Monarch and the Knights of the Garter to go up separately to give their alms.

The choir and clergy entered and left the chancel in procession, as is now almost universally done. But this was in those days so much of an innovation that Mr. Skinner gives it as one of the things "which raised such fury against us." But the Bishop specially allowed it.

At this entrance and departure the clergy (but not apparently the choir) made their obeisance towards the altar. The Bishop, in 1842, "saw no serious objection to this."

The prayers were, of course, said in the stalls within the screen. The Litany was said at a faldstool, at the entrance of the chancel.

The choir were communicated before the rest of the congregation, a custom which Bishop Blomfield afterwards said was "excessive ritualism."

There was daily Celebration of the Holy Eucharist at 7 a.m., and the daily Mattins and Evensong were fully choral.

Lastly, the sexes were seated separately on opposite sides of the church.

These were the actual points of ritual attained during the months which elapsed between the consecration of S. Barnabas' and Mr. Bennett's departure. Of course they were accused of a great deal more, and Mr. Bennett tells amusing stories of the canards which went round concerning the services at S. Paul's. He was accused of using incense at the Celebration; the Bishop of Salisbury (Archdeacon Denison's brother) wrote to say that he had been informed that the sanctus bell was rung, but on inquiry it appeared that a neighbouring dinner-bell was the cause of this alarming report.

The contrast must have been great when Mr. Bennett, expelled from "the gorgeous temple of S. Barnabas'," found himself in the dilapidated church of Froome. Yet Froome had one advantage which S. Barnabas' could not have—its church was old. It had a long history behind it, and *that* gives to one of our old parish churches a charm and a sense of unity with the past that no new church, however beautiful, can possess. What remained after the restoration of the church to its former glories was that the services of the old church should be restored to their former glories also.

But it was of necessity a slow process. It was a fresh start, and much caution was needed. Other

churches, in London and elsewhere, naturally advanced more quickly, and Mr. Bennett could be no longer a leader in this. But in the end the services of Froome were probably more magnificent than any in the kingdom. Nowhere else perhaps were the services so completely in tune with their surroundings.

We have seen what the state of the church was when Mr. Bennett arrived; and amusing, if the facts were not so deplorable, would be his description of his first experience of service there.

"The north gallery, opposite the pulpit, seemed to topple over with the weight of the people within it who flocked thither as possessing the most advantageous view of the preacher, while at the back of the pulpit many of the worst style of boys of a national school rushed into another gallery where, not having anything to read nor anything to see, nor any possible knowledge of what a sermon could be about, they busied themselves with fighting and with nuts and oranges. The noise which these urchins made at the preacher's back was harmoniously interrupted from time to time by the schoolmaster, whose cane, descending on the backs of the delinquents, not a little terrified the surrounding audience. The clerk's solitary 'Amen'; the responses of the people reluctantly made, if made at all; the psalms or hymns, though creditably sung (for Froome seemed for long to have maintained a fair character for music), but still, coming from a gallery on high, and eliciting no sympathy with the congregation,—these and suchlike things will be sufficient to depict the character of the worship."

He soon set to work to alter all this. The choir and priest got, as we have seen, into the chancel. The stalls and the low stone screen separated them from the congregation, and the progress continued

steadily till the services became of the most elaborate and devotional character.

Although services of this description are now very common, it will be interesting to describe the arrangements made by Mr. Bennett, as they were in some ways different from those in other churches.

The High Celebration was at 8 a.m. on Sundays; on Holy Days at 8.30 or 9. In having his chief Celebration so early he followed, to some extent, the advice of Bishop Sparrow, who, in his "Rationale upon the Book of Common Prayer," which was written in 1684 and reprinted by Newman in 1839, says—

"the usual hour for the solemnity of this service was anciently, and so should be, nine of the clock, morning; this is the canonical hour, thence probably called the holy hour. In case of necessity it might be said earlier or later, but this was the usual and canonical hour for it. One reason for it is that at this hour began our Saviour's Passion. At this hour, therefore, is the Communion Service (part of which is a Commemoration of Christ's Passion) performed. Another reason given is because this hour the Holy Ghost descended upon the Apostles. Lastly, because it is the most convenient hour for all to meet and despatch this with other offices before noon. For till the service was ended men were persuaded to be fasting, and therefore it was thought fit to end the service before noon that people might be free to eat."

There was, however, once or twice a month a Celebration for old and delicate people at 10 a.m., and a daily Eucharist at 7, in the Ladye Chapel or the Chapel of S. Andrew. In quite early days there was a Celebration at 5.15 a.m., for the working

people, to whom he afterwards gave coffee at the Vicarage. He refused to have a Celebration at 11, and in his "Catechism of Devotion" he describes Evening Communions as "simply abominations." On Thursdays there was a Celebration at 9, which was attended by the school children, who sang special hymns suited to them.

Mattins was sung later fully choral. He was wont to say he would not have Mattins degraded. Evensong was, of course, fully choral, both Sundays and weekdays, with incense at the *Magnificat* on festivals.

It was in "the sixties" that the vestments and the incense were begun, but the exact dates do not seem to be recorded or recollected. The vestments were introduced at the request of a large body of the communicants who presented them to the church. Mr. Bennett had refused to use them till a request was made by a sufficient number of persons.

The ritual of the other great Sacrament was also full of teaching. Baptism was administered, according to the rubric, after the second lesson at Evensong, even at great festivals. The choir, with crucifix, acolytes carrying candles, and the officiating priest proceeded to the gate of the baptistery and there met the sponsors. The gates of the baptistery were closed till the sponsors had made the response, "I renounce them all." Then the priest exchanged his purple stole for a white one, and all entered the baptistery. The crucifix, with the candles on each side, faced the priest, and the whole of the persons taking part stood

round the font. Nothing could more forcibly impress on the congregation the solemnity and importance of the Sacrament of Baptism. There was also a very complete ritual for funerals, the Holy Communion being celebrated when the mourners wished it.

It is worth while recording that processions were made, as they should be, a separate service before or after some other service, but not merely a proceeding into church. The choir went down the nave, completely round the church and returned up the nave again.

The procession was headed by Ashby, the sacristan and sexton, who wore on his arm a silver plate bearing the arms of Sir Thomas Champneys, a former owner of Orchardleigh, near Froome, the appointment of the sexton being an appurtenance of that estate.

The same order was observed at the children's service on festival afternoons, when all the children left their seats and held a procession round the church.

All this, of course, grew slowly, and the natural order of development, so to speak, was followed, whereby each advance was prepared for not only by instruction and explanations, as we have seen, but also by the worshippers being gradually accustomed to more elaborate ritual.

In carrying out all this, a great deal of organization was obviously necessary, and each person concerned was carefully instructed in his duties. The manuscript books in which the detailed instructions were recorded, and Mr. Bennett's memoranda, both for

himself and for the assistants of every class, still remain.

What is more important to observe is the extreme reverence which marked his carrying out of the ritual, and the care he took that reverence should be equally maintained by others. One most excellent rule was the enforcement of silence in the vestry, unless it was necessary to speak of something connected with the service.

We may here speak of the Octaves which were kept every year after that, which we have mentioned already as the first, in 1856. The Octave began with the Evensong of June 23—the "first vespers" of S. John the Baptist's Day—and was continued till the Evensong of July 1. During this time "open house" was kept at the Vicarage, and meals provided for a large number of friends from far and near. When the Octaves were "at their height" these meals were in the schoolroom close to the Vicarage, and a large number of visitors availed themselves of them. Many delightful acquaintances were thus made, and in the middle of the day friends made excursions to the neighbouring points of interest. But the date of S. John the Baptist's Octave unfortunately corresponds partly with a cold season of six days, well known to meteorologists, June 29 to July 4, and this was recognized in the phrase which became a household word at the Vicarage—a spell of showery, cold weather in summer being called "Octave weather."

During all these Octaves the custom was kept up

of inviting great preachers for the evening services; the High Celebration was daily at 8.30 or 9 a.m., various parochial events took place, and these gatherings left an always delightful remembrance in the minds of those who were privileged to take part in them.

III. "To be an efficient parish priest," said truly the *Saturday Review*, "was Mr. Bennett's speciality." And one essential part of being an efficient parish priest is the gift and power of organization. Of this art Mr. Bennett was a master, and although many things which he established are now quite commonplace, they were not so by any means in the days of S. Barnabas', Pimlico, nor in his early days at Froome. In most of the organization which he set up he had a predecessor and teacher in Dr. Hook, at Leeds, but his life record would be incomplete without some account of the way in which the work at S. Paul's, at S. Barnabas', and at Froome was arranged.

"He had noble ideas of Church work," wrote Mr. T. T. Carter, of Clewer, in the *Guardian*, in 1886, "and he nobly carried them out. His pastoral ministry at S. Paul's, Knightsbridge, still living on the old lines which he laid down; the creation of that great centre of life, with its community principle of priests, beside their church and schools, at S. Barnabas', which has been the example of so many similar works, though none that I know of equalling their original; and the results of the labours of his later years under yet more difficult circumstances at Froome, have placed him in the very forefront of the great army of priests who in late years have raised English parochial life to such a high standard."

Mr. Bennett, in his pastoral letter of 1846, gives

an account of the "Societies and Institutions" at S. Paul's, Knightsbridge, at that time—A "Provident Society," in which threepence was given as interest for every shilling saved—a large addition only possible in so rich a parish; and a Lending Library, now common in every village. More important were the four schools of different sorts; and lastly, an attempt to establish "Sisters of Charity," which was, as he says, "premature." But something of the kind was established later by Miss Law, in the parish.

At S. Barnabas' these things were extended. The college was the centre. The affairs of the school were governed by a committee of parishioners. A monthly lay visitor inquired into the state of the schools, and reported to the committee at the end of each month as to education, attendance, cleanliness, and general improvement.

Twelve boys were on the foundation, being trained, educated, and clothed free, as choristers.

At the time of the cholera in London (we are told in a letter signed by a number of parishioners and printed in the *Morning Chronicle*), Mr. Bennett,

> "stimulated by the misery he saw around him—the badly ventilated dwellings, the imperfect medical aid, the scanty and unwholesome food of the poor, oftentimes predisposing them to disease—resolved upon endeavouring to better their temporal condition, and with this view induced a number of gentlemen under his guidance to form themselves into a parochial board for improving the state of the poor in his district."

The result was the establishment of a soup kitchen, a dispensary, an arrangement for sending medicines,

etc., to the houses of those who needed them, and for sending a qualified medical attendant in confinements, a nurse maintained by the committee, and

"a lay visitor who attended daily to hear the complaints of the poor, and to see that the object of the Charity was honestly carried out."

At Froome the organization was very complete. Mr. Compton, who was Curate from 1862 to 1871, says—

"Mr. Bennett's love of order and method was very remarkable, and showed itself in every detail. Schools, classes, dispensary, provident clubs, soup kitchen, blanket and other charities, were all in perfect working order, and his authority was felt in all the details of their management.

"The parish was carefully divided into districts; every house was visited, and, when possible, every name and circumstance was entered in a book, so that each of the twelve district visitors knew in a measure those under her care, and was charged to visit rich and poor alike if allowed to do so."

The Vicar and the Curates had each his own district of the parish to attend to—in all, four divisions. Each felt himself responsible for the visiting of his own portion of the parish. Each of the clergy taught daily in the schools.

The schools were at first entirely under his management, and were carried on by the subscriptions of himself and the parishioners. And though in the end he was compelled to lease them to the School Board, the religious instruction of all classes of children was provided for and was cared for in the schools of every sort.

A very useful part of the organization was the "College," a large and roomy building in a quadrangle, lent to him by the Marquis of Bath. In this, as before at S. Barnabas', about twelve boys were lodged and educated as choristers. Its large rooms were the scene of many festivities and entertainments.

Another very excellent institution was a Home for girls who worked at the factories; and yet another was a crèche for the care during the day of the babies of mothers who were employed in the same way.

In our modern arrangements a parish magazine has become a recognized part of the organization, and Froome of course had one in the later days of Mr. Bennett. But in earlier days there was *The Old Church Porch*, which from the history Mr. Bennett gives of its beginning seems to have been the first idea of such magazines. Although it did not contain the parish notices, which are now an important part of such productions, and though it circulated beyond Froome, it was nevertheless primarily intended for the people of Froome, as may be easily seen from its local allusions.

The story of its inception is told in the preface to "Cousin Eustace," which is a book of conversations on the Prayer-book, edited by Mr. Bennett.

"I had intended, had it pleased GOD to permit me to remain at S. Barnabas', to publish a little monthly paper for the use principally of the poor and unlearned and the children. In this little monthly paper I had intended to give various explanations of the customs of the Church; her rites and ceremonies; our Prayer-book; the ancient practices of the Christians and their devotions; and especially those points of

observance which seem, ever since the Reformation, to have caused so much animosity among Dissenters from the Church of England.

"I thought that much good might be done by a local periodical press as an organ of communication on holy things between the priest and his flock; especially in such a large parish as ours, where even sermons do not reach one-third of the people and private pastoral intercourse is confined to a very scanty number indeed. For this purpose I had prepared many little bundles of papers of various kinds and degrees of interest, ready to begin on the first of January, 1851, and so continue on the first day of every month. Of course I could not attempt to do all this myself, so I had asked many kind friends among the clergy, and others who might take interest in such matters, to help me.

"The bulk of these papers I must, alas! put by and reserve for another place and another flock, should it please GOD ever to give me one again; and it may be that they will come forth in another shape if GOD so will."

This preface was written just before his departure from S. Barnabas', and he says the book, "Cousin Eustace," which was a part of the papers so collected, is "a little legacy to the catechumens of SS. Paul and Barnabas," and that the writer, Mrs. Lear, was formerly taught and instructed by himself. "I call it a legacy because I cannot call it a *gift.* A gift is of one living; a legacy of one departed. And I am now, alas! as one departed." So the other bundles of papers remained for a while, and then *The Old Church Porch* began on January 2, 1854, and continued monthly till April 1, 1862.

Various societies were, of course, represented in the organization of the parish. There was a ward of "The Confraternity of the Blessed Sacrament"; a

branch of "The Guild of All Souls"; a branch of "The Society for Promoting the Unity of Christendom"; a "Guild of the Holy Cross," for both men and women; a "Guild of the Holy Child," each member undertaking to look after one or more poor and neglected children in the parish.

There were classes for boys and girls *after* Confirmation—a much needed institution; classes, besides the Sunday school, in preparation for the Sunday catechizing; Communicant classes before the great festivals, and various classes for instruction on points of doctrine and worship. Every class of person was thought of and looked after as far as might be, and, as one of the curates remarked once to the writer, work was "crowded out" sometimes on Sundays from the impossibility of being in two places at once.

It may well be supposed that Mr. Bennett did not neglect the valuable institution of parochial missions. In his preface dedicating to the Cowley Fathers the sermons which he preached at the great London mission of November, 1869, he gives an admirable account of the effect which missions produce on both the priest and people of a parish. In the previous Lent he had had a mission conducted by the same Cowley Fathers at Froome, and he sent his brother at Freeland Vicarage a copy of his address to the people of Froome on the use and object of it, with the characteristic inscription—"We are hard at work in this, and the battle is raging."

In all these works he was assisted by many

devoted friends. Two sisters of Sir Frederick Ouseley came to Froome in order to work with him. The father and mother of Mr. Lowder spent their last days at Froome in order to be near him. He was immensely helped by many workers who came to Froome for the purpose of devoting themselves to the parish; and of his lay helpers who were of Froome itself the name is legion. Earnestness and work ever beget earnestness and work in others.

Of his Curates at S. Paul's and S. Barnabas' were Mr. Cowie, afterwards Dean of Chichester; Mr. De Gex; Mr. George Nugee, afterwards of Wymering; Mr. S. T. Smith, afterwards Archdeacon of Jamaica; Mr. Henry Stretton, well known to clergymen as joint author with Sir W. H. Cope of the excellent book, "Visitatio Infirmorum"; Mr. H. Fyffe, and Sir Frederick Ouseley.

To Mr. De Gex, who was a Curate at Froome in the early days, he gave the living of Christ Church, Froome. Mr. C. E. Taunton, afterwards of S. John the Baptist's Church, Harlow, was in charge of the College at Froome in 1857. Mr. Compton, Curate from 1862 to 1871, and afterwards Vicar of S. Katharine's, Woodlands, which was in the latter year made a separate parish, writes of the friendship of himself and Mrs. Compton with the Vicar for twenty-four years, as "one of the most sweet and valued memories of their lives." Prebendary Linklater, now of Stroud Green, has in another part of this volume recorded his experience of Mr. Bennett's kindness in offering him one of the

curacies. Dr. A. G. Mortimer, author of so many most helpful works, and now Incumbent of S. Mark's, Philadelphia, was Curate for some years from 1874; and Mr. T. O. Marshall, for so long the energetic Organizing Secretary of the English Church Union, was also for three years Curate to Mr. Bennett.

IV. The question of FINANCE is one unfortunately unavoidable in the work of most parish priests. Mr. Bennett was one who not only was successful in collecting much money for the war against evil, but who initiated a revolt against the then prevailing methods of finance, and his work in this direction assuredly ought to be recorded and remembered. He was *not* wont to get money out of people by amusing them with bazaars and entertainments, but plainly asked them for their money for the work of God, set them the example himself, and got what he wanted.

We begin with the building of S. Barnabas'. In a sermon preached on the Dedication Festival of that church in 1867, twenty years after the idea of it came into his heart, he tells us that he asked—

"the enormously wealthy inhabitants of the parish and the enormously wealthy landlord of it" to aid him. "Their idea in receiving this proposal was to build four brick walls, a roof, a recess, and what they called a Communion Table; then to let the church out at so much a head for *sittings* (as it is called), and so to ensure by payment of pew rents the services of an incumbent. This incumbent would, in the usual course of things prevailing at that time, have had services once a week, on Sunday; the Administration of the Blessed Sacrament once a month; and prayers perhaps on Wednesdays

and Fridays. The cost of the church would have been about £3000 at the utmost."

But in his pastoral letter of 1847, in which he put forth his scheme, he asked for £15,000. He calculates that the three extra curates can be provided for out of the offertory, which is to be divided into three portions—one-third for the poor, one-third for the maintenance of the new church, and one-third for the clergy there. How far this plan succeeded I do not know, but, alas! the offertory of S. Paul's, Knightsbridge, is not likely to be paralleled in the experience of *most* incumbents.

We now come to the finances of Froome. They divide themselves into: (1) The restoration of the church; and (2) The current expenses of the parish.

(1) The first estimate for the church—merely to make the fabric safe—was £3000 or £3500. Delay, he says, might have made it £10,000. "The church would have been a ruin." But as investigations went on, more and more dilapidations were found, and in the end the repairs needed to obviate actual danger came to £16,398. The work was spread over the years 1862 to 1868. In order to save the church from ruin he advanced £8000, and this, again, could not be done by most incumbents. Here is an example of the enthusiasm he inspired. The Ladye Chapel was restored with money contributed or collected by those who had the name of Mary. One little girl of that name was so eager that she sold her kitten for 2*s.* 6*d.* to a farmer, from whom she had asked a subscription, and brought the half-crown to the Vicar.

Alongside this "mite" we may record that Lady Bath gave, in 1852, £5000, and in the succeeding years many gifts, from £200 to £800. Both had the same spirit—the "great lady" and the little maiden, and perhaps the little maiden missed her kitten the most!

(2) The history of the current expenses of the church and parochial work at Froome is even more instructive.

At his first vestry meeting, "early in the year 1853," he adopted the bold plan of abolishing both the Church rate, which was *compulsory* then, of course, and the pew rents, which were illegal. He "took," the *Gloucester Chronicle* thought,—

> "a most extraordinary course. Having taken the chair, he opened the business of the meeting and stated the origin, purposes, rules and legal opinions on Church rates, and advised the meeting to abolish them altogether."

The Church rates had been in Froome for a long time a source of complaint on the part of the Dissenters, and this step on Mr. Bennett's part so pleased them that (as we have seen) they joined in buying for him the tenement which stood in the way of the improvements in the churchyard, and one of the leading Dissenters sent him a cheque for £100 for the restoration of the church.

The result of this plan he gives in his second pastoral letter to the people of Froome in 1857. The arrangement was that one-half of the ordinary offertory should go to the churchwardens for Church expenses; one-fourth to the poor through the Visiting Society; and one-fourth to the schools.

In the year 1853–4 this ordinary offertory amounted to £340, in the next year to £341, the following year it fell to £290, and the next to £260, so that it was necessary for him to urge the people to make further exertions, and he outlines a scheme of giving according to various classes of wealth, just as he had done in his plan for the building of S. Barnabas'.

In 1861 he published a pamphlet, "Why Church Rates should be Abolished." In a note on this pamphlet he tells us—

"From 1853 to the present moment, 1861, there has been no mention of a Church rate in any shape whatever in the parish of Froome. All the expenses of the public worship of the church, together with the supply of the schools and other charities of the parish, and the formation and support of a choir, with many other incidental things, have been supplied by the voluntary oblations of the faithful within the walls of the House of GOD, and laid every Lord's Day upon the Altar."

CHAPTER XI

TWO PROSECUTIONS

Mr. Bennett teaches us that *doctrine* is not for secular Courts.
Prosecution of Archdeacon Denison.
Protests against the judgment at Bath.
"Examination of Archdeacon Denison's Propositions."
Denison's opinion of the Courts.
Prosecution of Mr. Bennett.
Hasty writing.
History of the suit.
The judgment: excellent principles laid down as to its duties, by the Privy Council Committee.
Decision for Mr. Bennett.
Mr. Bennett disregards the Citation entirely.
Review of his opinions on the Courts.
Publications on the subject.
The great snowstorm.
Mr. Bennett's prayers that the truth might be vindicated.
The Octave following.
He objects to being called "The Respondent."

THE sin of appealing to or appearing before secular Courts of law upon matters of doctrine is one from which neither party in the Church of England has been quite free. But in the confusion of mind as to the different provinces of Church and State into which years of Erastianism had plunged us, it was perhaps no wonder that those who felt themselves aggrieved in doctrinal teaching should, in an "Established Church," that is, in a Church muddled up with the State, suppose that a true remedy lay in the Courts of law, and confound the law of the land with the law of GOD; nor, even yet, has this confusion entirely disappeared.

It is not the least of those things which we owe to Mr. Bennett that his action when prosecuted has set this matter in a clear light, and we may hope that, following his example, the Catholic section of the Church will never again make any appearance in secular Courts of law on doctrinal subjects, as either plaintiffs or defendants.[1]

But, as we shall see, the true way of regarding this matter did not dawn even on Mr. Bennett at first.

In 1853 Archdeacon Denison was prosecuted by the Evangelical Alliance, under the name of Mr. Ditcher, the Vicar of South Brent, in Somerset, for his Eucharistic teaching.

After some preliminary sparring the Court of Queen's Bench "Mandamus'd" the Archbishop of Canterbury to hear the case under the Church Discipline Act—the Bishop of Bath and Wells having refused to proceed. Upon this the Archbishop held a Court at Bath, "contrary to the Canons," says Mr. Bennett, "invading the Diocese of Bath and Wells." He, or rather his "assessor," decided that the "legal" meaning of the Articles was against the Archdeacon, who appealed to the Provincial Court of Arches. There, in 1857, the "Dean" reversed the judgment at Bath, and the Evangelical Alliance appealed to the Privy Council. But the case reached no decision "on its merits," for the whole proceedings were quashed on a point of law, depending on the fact that the

[1] I deeply regret to add that since these words were written a clergyman *has* appeared before the lay Courts as defendant on a purely doctrinal question.

Archdeacon's living of East Brent was in the gift of the Bishop of Bath and Wells.

The result was a curious illustration of the need of ritual in teaching doctrine, as the Archdeacon was wont to point out; for whereas on this escape the parishioners of East Brent drew the Archdeacon and Mrs. Denison in their carriage from the boundaries of the parish to the church in triumph, yet when a few years later he endeavoured to set forth those same doctrines by a very moderate amount of ritual, a great deal of opposition arose.

But the Tractarian leaders were of course dissatisfied with such a lame and impotent conclusion, and a protest was speedily drawn up against the Bath judgment of the Archbishop's Court. It affirmed the propositions for which the Archdeacon had been condemned, and was signed by all the leaders of that time: Pusey, Carter of Clewer, Keble, Grueber, Neale, Oxenham, Isaac Williams, Woodford, and others.

Mr. Bennett was, however, not contented with signing protests, and he put forth, in 1857, "An Examination of Archdeacon Denison's Propositions of Faith on the Doctrine of the Holy Eucharist." It had a prefatory letter to the Bishop of Bath and Wells, in which he says that he holds and believes, and intends to teach, maintain, and propagate, as far as in him lies, the identical propositions condemned by the Archbishop's Court. He challenges the Bishop to try the case over again in *his* person, the benefice of Froome-Selwood not being in the Bishop's patronage. The Bishop had no wish to do so.

It is worth while to point out that Archdeacon Denison's opinion of these Courts quite agreed with Mr. Bennett's, to be presently explained.

"If there had been so much as the shadow of a shade," the Archdeacon says, in his "Notes of my Life, 1878," "of a decently fair tribunal, rather, I should say, if there had been *any* tribunal in England recognized by the Constitution in Church and State as competent to pronounce in matters of doctrine, I might possibly have considered about taking the case *upon its 'merits.'* But fairness and competency were alike lacking. And, indeed, where could a decision upon the merits be had, entitled to the smallest respect? From the packed Commission? From the packed Court? As for the Courts of first and second appeal—the first in its subordination to the second, the second in its own nature—they were devoid of legitimate authority in matters of Faith and Worship."

For these reasons the Archdeacon thought himself quite justified in sheltering himself under a legal point. But in 1869 it was Mr. Bennett's own turn to be prosecuted for these same opinions. In 1867 he contributed to a volume called "The Church and the World," edited by Mr. Orby Shipley, an essay on "Some Results of the Tractarian Movement of 1833." In the same year he published a pamphlet, "A Plea for Toleration in the Church of England," in the form of a letter to Dr. Pusey. For the Eucharistic teaching in these writings he was prosecuted by the "Church Association." The nominal prosecutor was Mr. Sheppard, of Froome, who afterwards much regretted having allowed the Association to use his name. *We*, I think, can hardly coincide in this regret,

inasmuch as the result was the complete vindication of the highest Eucharistic teaching in the Church of England and the most disastrous defeat which the Protestant party has suffered in the Church of England since the Restoration.

There is not unfrequently traceable in Mr. Bennett's writings an evidence of the busy life he led as a parish priest. To the haste of composition caused by his many parochial labours must be ascribed two unfortunate expressions in his letter to Dr. Pusey. In the two first editions he used the word "visible" concerning the Presence of our Lord upon the altar. The word is, of course, indefensible except in the sense in which he quotes Bishop Cosin, "to eye with their minds the Body and Blood of Christ," and he had himself in other works used the very opposite word, "invisible," as applied to the Presence. In the same pamphlet he wrote—

"Who myself adore and teach the people to adore the consecrated elements,"

an inaccurate expression,[1] and for these passages he substituted in the third edition, at the suggestion of Dr. Pusey himself, the words—

"The real and actual Presence of our Lord under the form of Bread and Wine upon the altars of our churches," and, "Who myself adore, and teach the people to adore, Christ present in the Sacrament under the form of Bread and Wine, believing that under their veil is the sacred Body and Blood of my Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ.

[1] The incorrect phrases occasioned remonstrance before there was any talk of prosecution.

"My meaning, and that which passed through my mind," he says, "in writing the original passages, was precisely the same as that which is conveyed by the words substituted, but as the original words were liable to a different construction from that in which I used them, I therefore most willingly in this edition adopt another formula to express my meaning."

A brief history of the case will be instructive.

The Cause was instituted in the Arches Court, by virtue of letters of request from the Bishop of Bath and Wells, on April 23, 1869, but the Dean, Sir Robert Phillimore, refused at first to accept them. He was, however, ordered by the Privy Council to do so, and the case was at last heard on June 16, 17, and 18, 1870. The Dean struck out one of the "Articles" which referred to "the reception by the wicked," on the ground that no proof of Mr. Bennett's opinions on this subject had been adduced. He further "reformed the articles" of accusation by allowing the substituted words of the third edition. On July 23, 1870, Sir Robert Phillimore decided in favour of Mr. Bennett on all the three remaining points, the Real, Objective Presence, the Sacrifice, and the Adoration. He further pronounced the opinion, for which he was afterwards scolded by the Privy Council, as being beyond the scope of what he had to judge, that—

"the objective, actual and real presence, or the spiritual, real presence, a presence external to the act of the communicant, appears to me to be the doctrine which the formularies of our Church, duly considered and construed so as to be harmonious, intended to maintain."

From this judgment the Church Association of

course appealed to the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council. Before them the case was heard on November 28, 29, and 30, and December 1 and 2, 1870. Their Lordships took a long time to consider whether they should pronounce "a judgment of policy," and having finally decided that the best policy would be honesty, they also pronounced in favour of Mr. Bennett on all points, on June 8, 1872.

However little we may like the Judicial Committee as a Court of Appeal in Ecclesiastical Causes, and remarkable as some of their pronouncements in things spiritual have been, it is impossible not to admire the clearness and fairness with which this particular judgment was drawn up. If such a Court was to adjudicate on such questions at all, it could not lay down for itself principles better than these—

"This Court has no jurisdiction or authority to settle matters of faith or to determine what ought to be the doctrine of the Church of England.

"It is not the part of the Court of Arches, nor of this Committee, to usurp the functions of a Synod or Council. Happily their duties are much more circumscribed, namely, to ascertain whether certain statements are so far repugnant to or contradictory of the language of the Articles and formularies, construed in their plain meaning, that they should receive judicial condemnation."

They further laid down that they had nothing to do with the opinions of those who drew up the Articles, etc., some of whom were on one side, some on the other, but solely with the *result* of their contests and deliberations as found in those formularies

of the Church on which the compilers managed to agree.

Lastly, they remind us frequently that "these proceedings are highly penal," and that the person accused of false doctrine is in the position of a prisoner at the bar in whose favour every doubt must be construed. It may be as well that this principle should be remembered by any one who feels inclined to appeal to the Privy Council on questions of doctrine, for we may be well assured that the Judicial Committee will never condemn any one for doctrine if they can find any possible loop-hole.

Happily it was abundantly clear that Mr. Bennett's words were within the meaning of the Articles of Religion and the other formularies of the Church of England, and from the opinion which their Lordships gave to this effect we may be allowed to draw a somewhat obvious conclusion. The said Articles are for the most part directed against the additions of the Church of Rome to the faith. Whatsoever, therefore, was the doctrine of the Church before the "Reformation," and was not excluded by these barriers against Roman additions, must be the doctrine of the Church of England still. The doctrines for which Mr. Bennett was prosecuted, not being so excluded, must therefore be *the* doctrines of the English Church, and one can only commend the honesty and logic of those who in consequence of the Bennett judgment, being unable to accept those doctrines, left the Church for Dissent.

Throughout the proceedings Mr. Bennett

disregarded them entirely. The Citation was served on him July 26, 1869. All he would reply to the person who brought it was, "Put it down on the table!" And "laid on the table" it remained. "No appearance," says the judgment, "was made to the Citation, and in default of appearance Articles were filed in accordance with the practice of the Court."

Nevertheless, mistaken reports were spread abroad, and he wrote to the *Guardian* to contradict them.

"I observe a statement in your paper which is incorrect. It is stated on p. 695 that 'the Commissioners, the proceedings before whom were public, examined witnesses on oath and heard counsel on both sides. The counsel for Mr. Bennett cross-examined some of the witnesses on the other side.'

"I beg to inform you that I never employed any counsel in this case. I know nothing of the 'proceedings,' and I have never interfered in what is going on in any way whatever. I should be very much obliged to you to state this."

Mr. Bennett's resolve thus to ignore all the Courts from the beginning—being, as it is, one of the most important lessons which he has taught us—deserves clearly to be explained by a history of his opinions on the subject, as shown in his own writings.

That the Church has an inherent right to settle her own doctrines without interference by the State is clear—the province of the State is not Religion. The matter becomes confused when any National Church suffers from so-called "Establishment." But

the right remains, and it is clear that when any point of doctrine is in dispute it is the business of the Church herself to settle what her own doctrine is, and to appoint the authority which shall adjudicate on any question that is raised.

The first time that the matter of the Courts became acute in Mr. Bennett's lifetime was the battle of Gorham, in 1850. The Arches Court declared the doctrine of Baptismal Regeneration to be an essential doctrine of the Church of England, and pronounced against Mr. Gorham, who had denied it. Mr. Gorham appealed to the Judicial Committee, as already recorded.

At this point Mr. Bennett published two sermons against the Privy Council as a Court of Appeal in doctrinal questions, together with a Protest, and a petition to the Queen to give licence to the Convocation to devise a proper appellate tribunal for "determining *with the authority of the Church* all questions of doctrine and other matters purely spiritual," the decisions of such Court to be binding on the temporal Courts. He drew up also addresses to the Archbishops and the Bishop of London to the same effect.

In these writings he calls the Arches Court "the Spiritual Court of the Church," and gives the history of appeals in spiritual cases. Before Henry VIII., he says, appeals were made to Rome, but by an Act in the twenty-fourth year of his reign such appeals were to be finally determined by the Archbishop of the Province. The next year, however, it was

allowed to appeal from the Archbishop to the King in Chancery, and the King appointed "Delegates" who were to hear and determine appeals. This continued till the time of William IV., when the Court of Delegates was abolished and the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council was appointed to hear the appeals. Thus the Judicial Committee is a Court appointed solely by the State, for Convocation had not been called together since 1717, and the Church had in no way sanctioned any such Court. It was an aggravation that the Court might consist of persons out of communion with the Church. "But it is," says Dr. Pusey, "an aggravation only. The fundamental defect is that the doctrines of the Church should for any purpose be authoritatively determined by any other than the Church herself."

Mr. Bennett further makes the important point that the Presbyterian Church of Scotland, though

"Established," is "exempted from the power of the civil Courts in causes of doctrine, the State enforcing the decrees of the Governing Body, and its General Assembly is the sole and final Court of Appeal in such causes, whereby the injustice of a contrary law in the Church of England is the more manifest."

In the same way those who protested against the judgment of the Archbishop's Court in the Denison case, appealed to—

"a free and lawful Synod of the Bishops of the Province of Canterbury; and then, if need be, to a free and lawful Synod of all the Churches of our Communion, when such by GOD'S mercy may be had."

Next came, 1868, the judgment of the Privy Council (in which they displayed their learned theology by talking about "the Symbolical use of Water in Baptism!") in the ritual case of Mr. Mackonochie, of S. Alban's, Holborn, and again Mr. Bennett protested. He published a pamphlet, "Obedience to the Lesser [of course, the State]; Disobedience to the Greater [the Church]."

In this he points out that, in this condemnation of ritual, was involved, and was *meant* to be involved, doctrine also, and he prophesies (what was speedily fulfilled) that "The doctrine of the Real Presence of our Blessed Lord in the Eucharist will be called in question to be judged by that very same Court." He wound up this pamphlet by inviting all who agreed with these ideas to sign a declaration repudiating the authority of the Privy Council Court.

In the next year, 1869, he published "State Interference in matters Spiritual," a reprint from papers written by Richard Hurrell Froude about 1833, in which Froude came to the conclusion that, by the gradual but complete alteration of the Constitution, "the CONDITIONS on which Parliament was by our predecessors allowed to interfere in matters spiritual *are cancelled.*"

This opinion of Froude's Mr. Bennett adopts in his preface to the reprint.

Hitherto he had allowed the Arches Court to be one which Churchmen might obey, but when his own case was before that Court he refused to appear

before it (as we have seen), on the ground that it had held itself not to be an independent Court, but to be bound by the decisions of the Privy Council. Its authority was thus vitiated, and it ceased to have any more authority than the Judicial Committee itself. This conclusion appears unavoidable, and this attitude of the Court of Arches left the Church of England without any real Court whatever, and amply justified Mr. Bennett's disregard of it.

We may well follow here Mr. Bennett's subsequent doings in this part of the contest.

In 1874 came the Public Worship Regulation Act —which stands self-condemned by its very title as purely Erastian. The Court which it set up was, of course, without the smallest Church authority, and Mr. Bennett made his protest in a sermon preached at Bovey Tracey on June 16.

"You must now make your choice between an Erastian Establishment and a Divine Church. You must say whether Christ Jesus is the director of your faith or the Queen's Judges in a temporal Court."

The Public Worship Court had at least this advantage, that no one could possibly suppose any *conscientious* obedience was due to it.

But it had brute force behind it, and, as a result, two priests who disobeyed its usurped authority were imprisoned. Mr. Bennett thereupon, on Advent Sunday, 1880, preached (and published "by request") a sermon "On the Authority of the Church, in reference to the Imprisonment of Thomas Pelham

Dale, Priest, and Richard William Enraght, Priest." In this he replies to the argument "that we should obey the law" by the simple fact that the law in question is the law of the Parliament without the concurrence of the Church. "We must obey God rather than man," and "do things contrary to the decrees of Cæsar."

He put forth also at the same time a little pamphlet, "Is Thomas Pelham Dale, Priest of the English Church, now a prisoner in Holloway Gaol, RIGHT or WRONG?" In this he points out that the priests of the English Church bound themselves to obey the laws of the Church and Realm, but that the Public Worship Regulation Court and the Privy Council Committee were creations of the Realm but not of the Church. Further, that the decision they had made as to the vestments, etc., was on grounds which were absurd, namely, that the Advertisements, supposed to have been put forth by Queen Elizabeth, repealed the Ornaments rubric which was inserted in the Prayer-book in the time of Charles II.! Moreover, that Sir Fitzroy Kelly, one of the Judges in the Privy Council Court, openly said that the judgment of the Court in an important case was made only for expediency or policy and was utterly bad in law. Mr. Bennett quotes Dr. Pusey, "It is not the law but a misinterpretation of the law which Mr. Dale has contravened." Mr. Dale was therefore *Right*, is his answer.

His last publication on this subject is a very curious one, "A letter to the Priests of the English

Church, written in the great snowstorm of January 18 and 19, 1881."

There had been arranged for that day a meeting of twenty-four representative priests at the Westminster Palace Hotel, to take council as to what should be done in the then position of affairs.

At that time three priests had been imprisoned as the result of the Public Worship Regulation Act: Mr. Dale, Mr. Enraght, and now Sidney Faithorne Green. It is worth while to note in passing, as a hint for times to come, that their going to gaol, instead of yielding, practically destroyed the Act, and that the certainty that Mr. Bennett would follow their example probably prevented him from being prosecuted for ritual. But this result was not then foreseen, and Mr. Bennett compares the state of the Church to the fearful tempest outside.

"The snowstorm raging without was a type (as it seemed to me) of the storm raging within; a false imprisonment had been made of three priests, and they had been placed in common gaols, cut off from their people; and a sentence of deprivation had been passed upon another, by which he was cut off from his priestly offices and from administering the Sacraments, and his goods were confiscated to the law; and all this by an unlawful judge and in an unconstitutional Court. It seemed a great storm. The eyes of the Church were blinded by gusts of a terrific hurricane, driving hither and thither, so that men were losing sight of all truth—confused and bewildered in the arms of Erastus and Cæsar."

The twenty-four clergy, under the chairmanship of Archdeacon Denison, drew up a memorial to the Convocation—that the new Court possessed no

authority from the Church but was of the Realm alone. They therefore prayed that no further proceedings should be allowed by the Bishops, under the judgment as to the Ornaments rubric, till a proper Court was established, and that no attempt be made to alter the Ornaments rubric.

This was Mr. Bennett's last publication on the subject of the usurping Courts, and completes the story of his opinions on this matter. It remains for us to finish the story of his own prosecution.

It is traditional that on the days when the case was before the Courts, Mr. Bennett, though he could not in any way recognize their powers, nevertheless celebrated the Eucharist with the "intention" that the result might be overruled to the vindication of the truth. We may well believe that those prayers were answered.

Soon after the promulgation of the Privy Council judgment, June 8, 1872, came the "Octave" at Froome. On this some of the newspapers, unaware that this was now an annual festival, announced that there had been great rejoicings at Froome on account of Mr. Bennett's acquittal. But the only special way in which this was done publicly was by a solemn *Te Deum* after the judgments given by the Arches Court and by the Judicial Committee.

And during the Octave of 1872, the only allusion which Mr. Bennett made publicly to the case was at the meeting of the local branch of the English Church Union, at which the President of the E.C.U. (then the Hon. Charles Wood, now Lord Halifax) took the

chair. Mr. Bennett said that the one objection which he had to the judgment was that they had called him "The Respondent." Now, a "respondent" is a person who makes an answer, and he had certainly not made any answer of any sort.

CHAPTER XII

CHARACTERISTICS—OPINIONS—TEACHINGS—ANECDOTES AND EVENTS

Characteristics—
- Courage, physical and moral.
- Energy.
- Firmness.
- Charitable judgment.
- Ready to help.
- Liberality in money. The Italian.
- Handwriting.
- Abstemiousness.
- Powers of Conversation.
- Humour. The objector at S. Barnabas'.
- Dignity.
- Respected; the story of the eggs.
- Temper.
- Appearance. Eyes. Hypnotic power.

Opinions and Teachings—
- Roman Church in England and English Church abroad.
- Dissent and Dissenters.
- The "Establishment."
- The "Royal Supremacy."
- Politics. *Our* "Grand Old Man!"
- Religious education.
- Convocation.
- Marriage: of divorced persons: with a sister-in-law.
- Liberality of opinion about others.
- The Dean of Chichester, Mr. Carter, Lord Nelson on his Churchmanship.

Anecdotes and Events—
- Effort to "present" ill livers.
- Archdeacon Denison's sermon at Froome, 1874.
- "This is my text and this is my sermon!"
- The chimneys case.
- Faculties.
- The Duke of Wellington.

It will be instructive to take now a review of those characteristics which enabled Mr. Bennett, with no advantages of rank or of fortune, to accomplish so much.

One of the most essential qualities of a priest in every period of the Church's history is courage; it

may sometimes be of the physical sort, sometimes of the moral sort. That Mr. Bennett was not deficient in the former was sufficiently shown in the riots at S. Barnabas', and when in the midst of the worse riots at S. George's-in-the-East he volunteered to go and preach to the mob of roughs. Soon after he arrived at Froome, on a Sunday evening, when the congregation were singing Bishop Ken's hymn, as was the weekly custom, a madman, who perhaps conceived it his duty to slay this terrible person of whom he had heard so much, rushed out of his pew and up the pulpit stairs with a knife in his hand. The doors of the "three-decker" probably formed a good defence, and the man was soon removed. "The Vicar" was not at all perturbed, and being asked if he was not alarmed said it was nothing after the S. Barnabas' riots. Already he had much gained the affection of the people of Froome, and many of them stayed afterwards to inquire if he was hurt. He was much touched by this proof of their anxiety about him, and said, "Now I know that I am among friends."

That he was not deficient in the other species of courage is notably shown in his vote against Mr. Gladstone at the Oxford election of 1852. In 1847 he had voted for Mr. Gladstone, but in the mean time the future Prime Minister had revealed what his real politics were to be. Mr. Bennett had the same prevision about Mr. Gladstone as Archdeacon Denison, who had, when a Fellow of Oriel, foretold, from his speeches at the Oxford Union, that Gladstone

would become a Liberal, as T. Mozley tells us. But the difficulty had arisen that Mr. Gladstone had been taking a strong course and not a popular one in defending Mr. Bennett against Mr. Horsman in the House of Commons. Whatever else may be thought of Mr. Bennett's vote under these circumstances, he will certainly be credited with wonderful moral courage in his vote.

His work was incessant. The amount of his writings is immense, his arrangement and supervision of every detail of organization in his parishes implies a great deal of labour; we have seen how in the Portman Chapel days he was rarely to be seen in his drawing-room on account of his work and study, and at Froome "he was so occupied," his son-in-law writes, "morning and night that it was next to impossible to get a quiet chat with him.'

To this energy and courage he added another quality, firmness and determination. "An Englishman," Archdeacon Denison was wont to say, "when he gets up in the morning, thinks while he is shaving how many compromises he can make before breakfast." But the Archdeacon and Mr. Bennett must both be excepted from the list of such Englishmen. Neither would compromise or recede from his principles, and to refuse to do so is Mr. Bennett's own advice in the preface to the Octave sermons at S. Barnabas'.

"Those who run in the *via media* run warily because they want to please the two extremes which border on their path. These characters become, under the guise of moderation

perhaps, compromising, toneless, vapid, dead and useless. Take a good *side*—here or there—and abide in it. Take *some* colours and fight under them, and, when you have taken them, *nail them to the mast;* and then, while you are so doing, make a calculation that while you shall gain so many friends you shall make so many enemies. But better so than a courteous compromise with two opposites, displeasing all by turns."

This was not only his advice, but his practice. This, too, is wisdom. Had Mr. Bennett shown the white feather or the slightest sign of wavering or compromise, the riots would have become much worse.

"And with all his strength," says Mr. Carter, of Clewer, in a letter to the *Guardian*, "he could yield gracefully when there was real cause to yield, as when he resigned S. Barnabas' because he had committed himself to his Bishop."

To this firmness he joined a large and real charitableness in judgment of others.

"In his dealings with those who opposed him," says Mrs. Compton, "there is neither littleness nor bitterness, and during the prosecution he was never heard to speak an unkind word nor would he allow others to do so."

His son-in-law, Mr. Farrer, gives the same testimony, and speaks of

"his invariable kindness and absence of all bitterness towards his opponents; always giving them credit for good motives and not seeming to listen to the fierce denunciations of them that were sometimes uttered."

He was ready to stand by any one whom he thought unjustly attacked—no doubt reminiscent of

his own experience in that way. Thus he defended Mr. Poole, who was persecuted for hearing confessions; and Mr. Linklater, his Curate at Froome, writes—

"He was a most generous and chivalrous priest. It was sufficient for him that he thought I had been unfairly treated in my first curacy and that Sacramental truth had been attacked in my unworthy person to move him to become my champion and to offer me his curacy. I am thankful that I can look back on the happy time I spent under him. I looked upon him," he adds, "during the whole time I was with him, and I look upon him now, as an admirable type of an English gentleman—a good parish priest of course he was, and a sound scholar—but also a thorough gentleman, refined and cultivated, a most delightful companion and a sympathetic friend."

Great was his own expenditure on Church and parochial work. It was said in the letter to the Bishop that he laid the whole "of his private fortune on the altar at the head of the subscriptions for S. Barnabas'." At Froome he did the same. In order to save the church from ruin he advanced £8000, which was finally repaid to him in 1877 by the offertories and subscriptions. How he obtained that £8000 is, and will no doubt remain, unknown. He inherited no more than £300 from his parents. It can hardly be thought that, after the expenditure of all he then possessed on S. Barnabas', his books had brought him in so much as £8000; his wife's money was under settlement and could not be touched, and the same was the case with a sum of money which was subscribed for him on leaving S. Barnabas'. Hence it can only be conjectured that he raised this money by borrowing on his life insurance; if so, it

must have entailed a very heavy burden on his yearly income. He calls it, in his statement of accounts, 1877, "the debt pressing upon me for the last nine years."

The beautiful reredos at Froome was, if I remember aright, his own gift to the grand old church.

"I cannot say how much he deprived himself of," writes one of his household, "during the restoration of the church. No dining-room carpets; the stair carpets wore out; he had them taken up and not replaced; his bedroom paper and paint were in a dreadful state and the whole house was very bad, but he said, 'The old, old takes all I have now.' But while he was away from home a poor man papered and painted his room. He was extremely pleased when he was told it was a little offering to him. 'It did very well,' he said, 'for me till the old, old is finished.'"

In July, 1886, a month before his death, he contemplated taking a cottage in Cornwall for a summer holiday, but was obliged to give up the scheme.

"There is so little money in the exchequer," he wrote; "the school support has left me in the infants' school £15 on the wrong side, and the girls' school £25. The people lean on me to pay it all, and where am I to get it? Thus you see I cannot dream about cottages or going abroad or anything else. Sufficient it is to have the roof of the Vicarage still to shelter me, and perhaps it will not be very long."

At his death it was found by the churchwardens of Froome that he had paid for schools, provident society, dispensary, church expenses, school treats, choir, poor, and other things, out of his own pocket, £9229, *i.e.* about £275 per annum.

An interesting example of the generosity of his

ideas is this, that on the National Fast Day, March 24, 1847, when the workmen at S. Barnabas' were prevented from earning any wages, he arranged that they should be paid for the day as if they had been at work.

And here is a delightful story—

"One night, when the Vicar was sitting in his library writing, after all the household had retired, a tap came at the window. He went to the front door and found it was an Italian who had neither food nor sufficient clothing. Mr. Bennett gave him help and his own large cloak which hung in the hall. Not long before his death a very respectable Italian came to thank him for his help and for the cloak. It had been the means of success to him, and he had long wished for the time to come when he might call and give him thanks in person."

In nothing does a man's character display itself better than in his handwriting, and Mr. Bennett's handwriting is a strong example of the truth of this. Interpreting it by the usual rules we discover "absence of vanity and affectation"; that the writer was "argumentative and practical"; that "intelligence, good taste, and sequence of ideas" are indicated, and likewise "honour"; but, as might be anticipated, one of the most strongly shown characteristics is "tenacity of purpose and iron will."

His abstemiousness was remarkable.

"The most noticeable thing," says his son-in-law, "in his daily life was the infinitesimal amount of food he seemed to require. When we were well into breakfast he would run in in a hurry, and without sitting down would take a cup

of tea in one hand and a bit of toast in the other, and be out of the room long before we had finished. At luncheon and dinner he would certainly sit down, but eat so little that one wondered how he kept body and soul together. He seemed to be in a kind of reverie during meals and talked little, but when he did talk he was amusing and often witty."

His conversation had been, in earlier days, in Belgravian drawing-rooms so amusing and interesting that it was common, so his mother used proudly to relate, to see him surrounded by a crowd of listeners. The fascination of his manner was always very great. And one might almost conjecture that he discovered some temptation in this power which led to his being in later days silent and grave, and reserved in conversation.

A sense of humour is said to be necessary to the full equipment of a good man, and in this he was not by any means deficient. When he could safely indulge it without irreverence his writing could be extremely comic. Witness his description of Mr. Horsman's abortive committee, already quoted. There was a delightful sense of humour in his treatment of a man who came into the vestry of S. Barnabas' after service and complained of all that was done, and especially of Mr. Bennett's sermon. Without saying a word, Mr. Bennett went into the church and beckoned to the objector to follow. He sat down in one of the front seats and pointed to the pulpit.

"Now," he said, "will you kindly go up there and show me how the sermon ought to have been preached? I will sit here and listen. I am always anxious to learn."

Needless to say, the illustration was not given.

"He was not only very full of humour himself," says Mr. Linklater, "but he could also appreciate a joke in others. I must have tried his patience many times. For instance, I gave at Froome a lecture on Causative Philosophy, at which, to my horror, he was present. The lecture consisted of a number of comic illustrations of Diogenes and his tormentors, the mud-larks of Corinth, and his philosophic declaration at the final catastrophe, 'This comes from that.'"

But with all this sense of fun he would never allow an irreverent joke or story, and would at once reprove any one, whoever it might be, who transgressed in this respect.

"His manner of doing the service was most reverent and of entire recollectedness; and outside the church his whole demeanour bore the stamp of perfect dignity."

To this may no doubt be attributed in part his great influence. Mr. Hampton tells of "the wonderful influence his quiet, serious, yet so kind, speech had over us boys." In the same way, at Froome, a correspondent says, "His courtesy and charm of manner carried all before them." One may reasonably ask the up-to-date curate of the period whether Mr. Bennett could possibly have had such influence and success had he been conspicuous at times in a football scrimmage, or dressed like a harlequin, or (as I am told is the correct thing now) trying to get the lads of his parish to call him by his Christian name.

"Popular" is a word which, applied to a clergyman, makes one feel uncomfortable. It could not be

applied to Mr. Bennett, but we may safely say that he was, what is better and more truly in accordance with the ministerial character, beloved and respected, and that intensely. Of this we have had plenty of illustrations, but one sent by Mr. Linklater is amusing.

"It is curious how the farmers and farm labourers took a keen and intelligent interest in the controversy relating to the prosecution. I give a remarkable instance. Mr. Sheppard, whose name figures in the case, though every one knows that he was merely persuaded to allow his name to be used, bought a sitting of ducks' eggs from a neighbouring farmer. It proved a failure, and he wrote to complain, adding that 'the hen sat very patiently.' The farmer wrote to express his regret; he had sold several sittings, and this was the first complaint he had had. Personally, he thought it was a mistaken and invidious position to place a hen in, and one likely to be productive of disappointment on both sides; to the little ducks who would be ashamed of their producer, and to the poor hen who would not understand her offspring, and," he added, "if you will allow me respectfully to say so, if the egg on which *you* have sat so long and patiently be equally unproductive, it is a consummation devoutly to be wished."

Whatever his temper was in the days of his childhood he must have acquired a good one in after-years. In the slums of Pimlico he was pelted with stones and mud. "I am going to pelt *you*," was his only reply, "with bricks and mortar." In his earlier days at Froome he met with much the same treatment, and frequently had rotten oranges and the like thrown at him, but "he only smiled."

It is certain that in many ways his "attractive

personality" and strikingly handsome appearance was, especially in the earlier days, a help to his work. These things *will* have their effect. The face is recorded, for those who did not know him, in the engraved portrait by Richmond.

"I advise the reader," writes Mr. Linklater, "to study his beautiful face. But no picture can convey the charming and ever varying expression, the light of intelligence and fun that flashed from his speaking eyes, and the sweet charm of his sympathetic smile."

The dark hair and the powerful eyes he derived from his mother. Of those eyes there is a curious story to tell. On one occasion he was called to minister to a person who was dying of insomnia. After doing what he could for her spiritual health, he sat down by the bed, and fixing his eyes upon her, told her to go to sleep. To sleep she accordingly went, and, having thus broken through the insomnia, recovered. It was, of course, an early example of hypnotic suggestion.

In his will he gave instructions that he should be buried as near as might be to the grave of Bishop Ken. He directed also that there should be placed in his coffin, according to the old custom for priests, a chalice and paten "of common metal," and that he should be buried in the vestments used for celebrating the Eucharist. Thus he wished to be in life and in death, as one of his friends well expresses it, "Always a Priest of God."

We must now take a view of his teaching and opinions, such, at least, as were not settled for him by

the undivided voice of the Church. With regard to the Church itself, he held firmly all through his days to the belief that the Church of England is the one and only representative of the Catholic Church in this country. He taught, too, from the beginning to the end of his career that as the Roman Church has no position in this country, so the Church of England has no right to invade the dioceses of Roman Catholic or Greek Church prelates abroad. This view he sets forth in his pamphlet, "Foreign Churches in Relation to the Anglican," published in 1882, in which he strongly condemns the setting up of Anglican Churches and chaplaincies on the Continent. To him this is schism. He points out, somewhat unanswerably, that when the same "indefensible violation of Ecclesiastical order" (as the Bishop of Ely phrased it) was committed in Scotland by Bishop Beckles, the Bishops of Scotland and England alike protested. How, then, could they consistently set up bishoprics in Gibraltar and Jerusalem? This same doctrine he had set forth in his "Letters to my Children," in 1843, and in his second letter to Lord John Russell, in 1852, when found fault with for attending Mass in Roman churches abroad during his enforced holiday in 1851. The difficulty of not being able to communicate when abroad at once arises. He therefore desires that all travellers should provide themselves with commendatory letters from their own Bishops to those of the foreign dioceses, and thus at least attract attention to our desire for intercommunion. If refused, as, alas! we no doubt should be, we must be contented with

attending Mass and with spiritual communion till we return home.

His view of "The Italian Mission" in England we have seen in the matter of the "secessions" of early days, and of his Curate, Mr. Chirol, and it is worthy of record that during all his time at Froome only two persons left his congregation to join the Church of Rome, while a greater number were by him drawn away from that schism.

He was, as may be supposed, equally definite in denouncing Dissent as schism, and such schism as a sin. In his second pastoral letter to the people of Froome, 1857, he speaks of "the very great number of Dissenters among us," and addresses them in a most admirable manner. He points out their inconsistency in sometimes coming to church to hear sermons, and thinks that to do so is to play fast and loose with their salvation.

"To hear a sermon here which teaches one doctrine, and then a sermon there which teaches the opposite doctrine, and to imagine that this is of no consequence; this, I would affectionately tell them, will, if persisted in, imperil their salvation. It is either of great consequence to be a Dissenter, or it is not. If it is *not*, then why do they not come forth out of their schism and rejoin the Church, and be restored to communion? But if it be of consequence to be a Dissenter, then why do they come and play with the Church and amuse themselves with hearing sermons, and partake in worship which in their own opinion and by their own showing is sinful and injurious?"

He then quotes the words of that very inconsistent person, John Wesley, on this subject, and bids all

pray for unity. This was plain speaking, but, nevertheless, the Dissenters *would* come to the Sunday and Octave Evensongs with all their elaborate ceremonial. "They enjoy it all," he said to the writer, with his kindly and tolerant smile. On Good Fridays the church was filled with Dissenters.

The Dissenters had, indeed, a very deep and real respect for him, in spite of his plain declarations about their schismatic position. They showed it practically, when even the Dissenting ministers subscribed to his improvements. One of the most prominent of the Dissenting tradesmen, who had called the church "Mr. Bennett's peep-show," was one of his sincerest mourners when the end came. And in the Dissenting chapels memorial sermons were preached when he died, as well as in the churches. Dissenters ever respect a firm and definite opponent, but those clergy, who, in spite of the teaching of the Church to which they belong, persist in coquetting with Dissent, get but little sympathy from "our friends the enemy," and no advantage from these unnatural blandishments.

Next in importance is the question of "Church and State"—the so-called "Establishment of the Church." The conflicts in which Mr. Bennett was involved, beginning with "Gorham," soon brought this point into prominence. His ideal was at first a free Church though still "Established"; like the "Established Kirk" in Scotland, where "their General Assembly decides finally on all cases of doctrine or discipline." But he soon perceived that

this was not to be had in our case, and he became strongly in favour of separation. He is accused of having advocated this in a sermon in 1847, but the sermon does not seem to have been among the published ones. In 1850, in consequence of the Gorham case, he published two sermons on "The Church, the Crown, and the State." In this he says—

"We must have Liberty—not the chains and entanglements of a State protection—which, while it embraces kills, and, while it flatters, poisons."

In his "First Letter" to Lord John Russell he gives the declaration, which was signed by 1800 of the clergy, on the Royal Supremacy.

"I have hitherto acknowledged, and do now acknowledge, the supremacy of the Crown in Ecclesiastical matters to be a supreme civil power over all persons and causes in temporal things, and over the temporal accidents of spiritual things.

"I do not, and in conscience cannot, acknowledge in the Crown the power recently exercised to hear and judge in appeal the internal state or merits of spiritual questions touching doctrine or discipline, the custody of which is committed to the Church alone by the law of Christ.

"I therefore, for the relief of my own conscience, hereby publicly declare that I acknowledge the Royal Supremacy in the sense above stated, and in no other."

In this light alone he regarded the connection of Church and State. So in his "Catechism of Devotion," he says, drily, "In this book Acts of Parliament are not considered."

In his first pastoral letter to the parishioners of Froome, he says—

"I still think that it would be highly for the blessing of the Church if she could be amicably separated from that which manifestly pollutes, interferes with and clogs her full and free operation in the souls of men, namely the State.

"I think more may be done by the clergy and laity in parishes uniting together with one heart and mind to bring this great blessing about (I mean, in plain words, the separation of Church and State as at present maintained) than by individuals gloomily and despondingly departing from her. I will tell you honestly, my brethren, that I am ever looking and hoping for the time when Church rates may be abolished, and every compulsory or merely legal establishment of the Church's claims be for ever set aside, that the Bishops may no longer sit in the House of Lords, but legislate for the Church in the Church's legitimate way, in diocesan and provincial synods, subject to the General Council of all Christendom."

Again, in April, 1862, he attacks, in *The Old Church Porch*, the folly of "Church Defence" Societies which seek only to defend the temporal position of the "Establishment," and points out how, in the attempt, luckily vain, of the Bishop of Rome to maintain his worldly dominions, he sacrifices the spiritual interests of millions over whom he rules as pastor.

In his preface to "Hurrell Froude's Remains" he asks—

"Does the union of the Church and State any longer exist? The laws of it exist, but is the spirit there?—The cry of 'Church and State,' let us honestly say it, however we may deplore it, means nothing now. It is an idle dream, a vapour. It has perished for ever."

He presently deals again with the "Royal Supremacy."

"To talk of the Royal Supremacy as of the ultimate power residing either in the sanctity or the orthodoxy or the will of the Sovereign who may from this time wield the sceptre or wear the crown of these realms—to talk of the Queen in the nineteenth century, with Mr. Gladstone or Mr. Disraeli for First Lord of the Treasury, and the *Times* newspaper published daily,—to talk of the Queen *now* as men talked of and trembled at the frown of Henry VIII. or Queen Elizabeth—and cry 'Royal Supremacy!' is a mere fiction too barefaced for the most credulous to tolerate. There *is* a Supremacy, but it is not *Royal*. It is the House of Commons, not the Queen, that governs the Church, makes laws for the Church, sits in judgment on the Church, directs the rites and ceremonies of the Church, pronounces the doctrine of the Church, consecrates bishops for the Church (or orders them to be consecrated), and in short—as universal manager of the Excise or of the Board of Trade, so is manager of the holy things even of GOD Himself. The Queen has nothing whatever to do in all these respects; every one knows it; and to put her sacred person forward as one of the arguments for 'Conservatism' is just one of the pieces of hypocrisy which once detected by honest Englishmen will be sure to bring its own punishment. The government of the Church, in point of fact, comes simply to this—that she is governed by her enemies. If you can imagine the case of a great war between France and England in which the English should be content that her strongholds should be garrisoned by French soldiers and her army directed by French generals, then we can imagine the Church of JESUS our Lord presided over by statesmen and served by bishops appointed by the House of Commons. The ruin of the English army and of the English Church would be about equally certain.

"Let any one with common reasoning power look through the history of the Irish bishoprics and answer honestly what has destroyed that Church? Has it not been its union with the State? Is there anything true of the Church by law established in Ireland which is not true of the Church by law established in England?"

He then deals with the probable status of the clergy if the English Church were disestablished, and comes to the conclusion that, if the clergy owe their value to their money and position only, the sooner we have a different sort of priests the better.

"They had better be pensioned off and give place to another generation who may not be quite up to the mark as *gentlemen* but will be better known as *priests*.

"The question is—Can we work our divine mission, can we go into the streets of our great towns as a Church? The answer is—*not with the continuance of the junction of* the Church with the State. You have had your trial of it and have failed. What has utterly failed during a period when the State guarded against the approach of any save members of the Church herself must be far more liable to fail now when the councillors of the State are, or may be, her bitterest enemies. Without the least fear, then, but rather with the anticipation of ultimate good, I reverse the argument of loss to the prestige and status of the English clergy in her separation from the State into a glowing hope that by her freedom she will come forth cleansed and invigorated for a more noble work than any she has been yet able to achieve. The change will be severe. The uprooting of ancient prejudices will be bitter. It will be a *Revolution*, nothing short of it; a '*downright Revolution*.' Let us consider it so and expect it. But the eventual result (in God's hands) will be untold good."

So in republishing "Neale, on Church Difficulties," in 1871, he says—

"For three hundred years, by the power of those who have ruled with a rod of iron, as in the Star Chamber, the Courts of High Commission, and the Privy Council as at present constituted, the combination has been forced into an external and apparent fusion. But the State, in admiration of every kind of free-thinking, has got its hands at present full of

Dissenters and Unitarians, and they, making themselves apparent in Westminster Abbey[1] as well as Westminster Hall, have rendered this fusion no longer possible."

From these opinions we naturally pass to Mr. Bennett's politics. Except for the bias which his views on Church and State gave him, he was, on the whole, a Conservative, or, as his friend Archdeacon Denison would have preferred to say, a "Tory." But he was always for perfect freedom of conscience.

"I have always considered that you," he says to Lord John Russell, in his first letter to the Prime Minister, "have been hitherto a staunch, firm and faithful advocate of the rights of conscience. Both towards Dissenters as well as Roman Catholics you have invariably manifested a tolerant disposition; not considering that religion or religious forms of belief should be any cause of the loss of the rights of citizenship.

"I agree with your cry of civil and religious liberty. I believe that penal laws against religion are the greatest acts of tyranny of which a country can be guilty. I have read many of your Lordship's speeches with the greatest delight in the enthusiasm of my youth when you fought hard and desperately against the (as I thought) bigoted and narrow-minded cries about Church and State and about the danger of the Pope and his bulls. I have rejoiced exceedingly as session after session went on and Roman Catholics were at length admitted to their undoubted right to sit in Parliament as Christian men serving loyally a Christian Sovereign."

He was thus *liberal*-minded enough in the true principles of Liberalism, but his early revolt from Gladstone, along with Archdeacon Denison, shows

[1] This refers to "the Westminster Scandal," a Unitarian having been communicated in Westminster Abbey as having been selected as one of the translators of "the Revised Version"!

him to have been opposed to Radicalism. Both had voted for Gladstone in 1847, when Gladstone was almost defeated by Round; both voted against him, as "burgess" for the University, in 1853. Generally he seems to have ranged himself on the Conservative side, but his politics were Church politics rather than State politics, and when "Tom Hughes" proposed himself as candidate for Froome in the Liberal interest in 1868, Mr. Bennett "astonished some people," Mrs. Compton writes, "by favourably regarding Mr. Hughes' candidature because of his promise to support some measure which affected the Church's laws." He had naturally no love for Disraeli after the passing of the Public Worship Regulation Act, and being told by Mrs. Compton that Disraeli had visited Froome Church, said, "I wonder the roof did not fall on his head!"

The last word on his politics is an amusing anecdote sent me by one of his workers at Froome.

"I remember on one occasion hearing of a great ovation he got as he drove up to the polling booth to record his vote, 'This is *our* Grand Old Man!' and they cheered him long and loudly."

It will be instructive to trace next the dealings of Mr. Bennett with the question that is ever with us —the question of religious education, especially as the question really began in his days. Mr. Bennett was one of those who at the commencement of the education movement worked his hardest for it, but adopted the fatal policy of asking for public money for support of Church schools. None, indeed, of the

leaders perceived to what this would lead except the sagacious and far-seeing Archdeacon of Taunton. The result, however, must in the end have been the same; the schools could never have been carried on universally without the help of the public purse.

In 1840 Mr. Bennett preached a sermon (which he published in his "Sermons on Miscellaneous Subjects") upon Christian Education. In this he of course urges the necessity of definite religious teaching as the foundation of all true "Education." But the chief interest of the sermon lies in the little sketch which he gives, in it and in the notes to it, of the history of the Government grants. In 1834 Parliament began to make grants for education—the first being of £20,000. These grants were divided impartially between the two great societies—The British and Foreign School Society, founded in 1808, and the National Society, founded in 1811. The first of these acted in religious matters "on the plan of Mr. Lancaster, without reference to any particular Church"; the second "on the plan of Dr. Bell, confining itself to the Church of England." This system continued till 1837, when there appeared a new society, called "The Central Society of Education," whose object was to "withdraw the education from the clergy and to put it into the hands of a central political board." Its programme, it seems, was practically a purely secular one, and against this Mr. Bennett earnestly contends in his sermon. The next event was the appointment, in 1839, of the "Committee of Council on Education."

Difficulties arose with the National Society about inspection, but were got over, and in 1846 Mr. Bennett published a pamphlet on "Crime and Education," in which he says—

"Grants are now made for the promotion of Church schools with or without the co-operation of the National Society. The Church, then, is now satisfied, and the State once more works in unison with the Church."

But he and others were far from being satisfied with the *extent* of the education of the country. In the pamphlet spoken of he begins by sounding a note of alarm. He, like others, thought the country on the verge of revolution, and considered the only safeguard was education, and that religious education. He gives terrible statistics of the ignorance then prevailing, and estimates the amount of money required for teaching the one and a half millions of children, who were left without any education then, at £4,500,000 for preliminary building and outfit, and £800,000 or £900,000 a year for maintenance. "There can be no difficulty in providing this or even a much larger sum than this," and he proposes a penny in the pound added to the income tax as a method of raising the sum.

Then comes the question once more of the religious part. There were then, just as now, three methods of disposing of this.

"The first we may describe as the *Intellectual* method; that is, waving all matters of religion, and not considering that the business of education has more to do than to cultivate the intellectual faculties.

"The second we may describe as the *Compromising* method; that is, out of all the various articles of faith deducing a portion which is common to all, merging that which is distinctive in each in silence.

"The third we may describe as the *Disjunctive* method; that is, separating the children into different schools or classes for instruction in religion."

The first, although "it has had its advocate in the powerful and energetic mind of Lord Brougham," he naturally condemns.

"It is the part of education to develop and bring out to its perfection both the mind and the affections, not the affections for the sake of the mind but the mind for the sake of the affections; so that both cultivated together may engender the highest state of moral excellence: for the mind, however highly cultivated, without moral excellence will fail to produce happiness; whereas moral excellence, duly cultivated, may produce happiness without any great cultivation of the mind. Of this we have instances in every family we meet, and since it is an axiom in Government that that form of polity is the best which produces the greatest aggregate of human happiness, so it follows that the education adopted by any Government for its people must be that which makes the cultivation of the intellect a secondary consideration and moral virtue the first."

As to the second plan, it had been tried in Ireland. It had there failed (he says), and—

"if it failed in Ireland, where it had principally to deal with only two varieties of creed, how would it be possible that it should succeed in England with many numerous and powerful sects infinitely diverging?"

He then draws a most amusing picture of a school conducted on the "Compromising" plan. He imagines

the various ministers arriving—the English clergyman and the Roman priest. They agree to a certain point but cannot agree about the Sacraments, so they are *omitted*. Next comes in a Wesleyan, and then all teaching as to the Holy Catholic Church has to be left out. Presently arrives the "Baptist," so baptism disappears. Then a Socinian, and then a Jew, and so on. "So now let us go on with our arithmetic and our geography; our writing and our reading." Nothing else is left!

Lastly he discusses the "Disjunctive" plan.

> "Ireland," he says very truly, "would ever seem to be the place of experiment, both of politics and of education, and a cloud of never-ending failures has encompassed her in both."

This third plan was tried also in Ireland and failed. Dr. Hook proposed a plan of this sort, but it is out of the question now, as it involved the giving up the afternoons of Wednesdays and Fridays to religious instruction by the various ministers of religion. Mr. Bennett points out the many objections to that plan, and the course of events has made his own proposed plan equally impossible.

But he did the work of religious and secular education himself as far as it was possible. At S. Barnabas', as we have seen, a school was an essential part of the design, and when he left S. Barnabas', on March 25, 1851, the children of S. Paul's Parochial Schools presented him with an inkstand "as an acknowledgment of his exertions in advancing their education." At Froome he built or restored a number of schools of various sorts,

but at last, owing to want of money, he was compelled, like so many others, to hand over his schools to the Board. Probably, like Archdeacon Denison, he was compelled to acknowledge defeat on this subject. "If the *State* will *civilize* them," he said to the writer, "*we* may be able to make Christians of them."

There is, too, some common sense, urgently needed in these days, in his programme of education for his Church schools.

"There cannot be," he says, in his second pastoral letter to the parishioners of Froome, 1857, "a more wholesome or steady course of instruction for poor children than is here pursued. It has been pungently said that 'nowadays you may meet boys or girls in the street who will tell you the height of the highest mountain on the face of the globe and yet not be able to cook their own dinner or wash their own floor.' But such is not the education of the children of our Church schools. A parade of fancy knowledge for the poor leads only to mischief. The Church Catechism and reading and writing and needlework (for girls) and the Bible; to say their prayers; to worship GOD as good Christians; and to do their duty in that state of life to which GOD has called them: that is the education which, as the parish priest, I should wish to impart to them. All beyond it I repudiate as a mockery and a mischief."

Although he had in earlier days appealed to Convocation as the bar at which his opinions and teaching ought to be tried, he holds, in the "Plea for Toleration," 1868, that it could not remedy our difficulties,

Firstly, "because it is not a council called together for spiritual purposes." Its history shows that "it is in reality a mere temporal Court called in to deal with money, not with

religion." Secondly, "it is an unfair and incomplete representation of the Church. In the Lower House all the Deans, Archdeacons, Canons, Chapters of Cathedrals and Prebendaries are either directly the Crown's nominees or indirectly so as being appointed by the Bishops, who are themselves appointed by the Crown. What would be said of the House of Commons if more than half its members were nominees of the Crown?" Out of the whole House, he points out, "there are only forty-two Proctors who are true representatives of the clergy."

He then adds that the non-representation of the Curates vitiates even this limited representation, and that the consent of the Upper House (all whose members are nominees of the Crown) is needful to any decision.

It is perhaps scarcely wonderful that his lifelong friend, the great Archdeacon, at last abandoned his seat in that assembly, and that it was needful to enforce by legal penalties, in earlier days, the opinion that Convocation is the Church of England by representation.

Very early in his ministry he began the conflict with unchristian kinds of marriage. In 1837 the law was passed allowing marriages at Registry Offices. He at once preached three sermons on the matter. In these sermons, which he published, he commends the freedom given in the case of those external to the Church, but points out that marriage has always been a religious matter, and speaks powerfully against members of the Church being married without her blessing. Persons so married he was always ready to marry properly in church, even publishing their banns

afresh. In 1854, he tells us in *The Old Church Porch*, he had submitted to Dr. Adams a case touching this question of the Church marriage of persons united in the Registry Office. Dr. Adams gave it as his opinion that such celebration in the Church was not only legal but, if the parties desired it, even compulsory on the parish priest. The Church marriage after the ceremony at the Registry Office was definitely allowed by a subsequent Act, provided that it was not entered in the Church registers.

Next came the Divorce Act, allowing divorced persons to remarry, contrary to the express words of Christ. This he deals with in his second pastoral letter to the parishioners of Froome, 1857. He says—

> "I will never allow in any case the Altar of the old church of Froome-Selwood to be desecrated and polluted by any such marriage; nor will I ever surrender the keys of God's House, entrusted to me for its holy keeping, to any person whatever that he may perform that which I cannot but consider sinful and contrary to His most holy Word."

It is not without interest to note that his first cousin, George Renaud, a Low Churchman and a profound scholar, also published a pamphlet in 1857, taking the same view—as showing that both parties in the Church were agreed on this.

Lastly there was the perennial fight against the "marriage" of brother- and sister-in-law, which the Bible pronounces to be incest. In his preface to Dr. Neale's "Church Difficulties" he says, "The House of Lords has hitherto saved us from this pollution."

And in Lent, 1833, he broke into a series of sermons on Isaiah liii. to preach on this question.

"May the Lord GOD," he ends, "whom we serve, grant His protecting grace to us all, that we may even yet be saved from this fearful sin and national pollution."

And he refused the Holy Communion to such as transgressed in this matter, and even declined to read the Burial Service over them.

There can be thus no doubt of the clearness and determination with which Mr. Bennett held his "views," *i.e.* the doctrines of the Catholic Church. Yet "he was never a bigot," and could understand that men could sincerely hold those "Low Church" opinions in which he had himself once shared. He showed this when he, as patron of the Vicarage of Holy Trinity in Froome, allowed the parishioners of that parish to nominate a Vicar of their own choosing, a Low Churchman having previously had the living. Nor did he show himself less appreciative of the natural feelings of Dissenters when, as we have seen, he refused to have anything to do with Church rates.

"No one," wrote the Dean of Chichester, "conceived a higher ideal of the Church of England. He loved her and understood her as few other men did. His great glory was to have been one of those who made people understand and obey the Church better.

"Those who followed the Church movement of the last fifty years," says Mr. Carter, of Clewer, "know well how much we owe to him. The intensity of his convictions, his great moral force, his laborious energy, with thorough faith in the Church of England's truth and mission, have been a power of

encouragement to very many during many anxious, eventful years."

"I always looked up to him," writes Lord Nelson, "as a great leader and a true and faithful priest in our Church working thoroughly on Bishop Kenn's lines."

I will here set down some of the interesting or amusing events of Mr. Bennett's "well-filled life," which have not found a place elsewhere.

The first shall be his vain attempt to restore a little the discipline of the Church. He tells us the story in his republication of "Hurrell Froude." Froude points out the fact that churchwardens are sworn to present to the Archdeacon the names of such as in their parish lead notoriously immoral lives; yet no such presentments are ever made. To this Mr. Bennett adds a note.

"In the year 1858, after in vain exhorting the churchwardens to do their duty, I myself, as Vicar, according to the Canon Law, made presentments of five persons leading scandalously ungodly lives, one living in open incest, two others in open adultery, one a notorious drunkard, and another an open blasphemer and infidel. I was met by the officials of the Bishop by an admonition to the effect that by so doing I was incurring the danger of a præmunire, and that the Bishop himself, if he should take any notice of my presentments, would be also incurring a præmunire. Nevertheless, I handed in the presentments accompanied by the proper witnesses, and insisted on the Court proceeding to do its duty. I never heard anything more of the matter. Notwithstanding, the usual forms were sent to us the year after with the usual directions to 'make our presentments.'"

A pleasing sequel is nevertheless on record—that one or more of these delinquents, being informed by

the Vicar of what he had done, was so impressed that he or they made a reformation of their lives. He endeavoured also to restore the rule of notice being given to the priest the day before the intention to receive the Holy Communion. He also enforced the rule that godparents should be communicants.

Our next record shall be about his friend Archdeacon Denison. In his history of Froome Church Mr. Bennett gives an amusing account of a sermon by Glanvil, one of his predecessors in the Vicarage. It is the first in a volume of sermons preached by that learned divine in the days of Charles II. Mr. Bennett calculates that it could not have been preached in less than three hours, and we may note in passing that other sermons of the period lead us to the conclusion that *that* was considered the proper length at the time. Now, on one occasion the great Archdeacon nearly rivalled this feat of Glanvil's, for he preached in Froome Church for two hours and one minute. As the Archdeacon had forewarned the writer, before they went into church, what to expect, he carefully noted the time.

It was the "Octave" in 1874, and the course of sermons was on "The Seven Churches." To the Archdeacon was assigned the summing up, and his sermon was on the Octave of S. John's Day, July 1. There was to be a solemn *Te Deum* and a procession to close the festival.

"I remember," says Dr. Mortimer, then Curate of Froome, "hearing Mr. Bennett in the afternoon say to the Archdeacon, 'You must not be more than twenty minutes with your sermon

this evening.' Denison replied, 'I could not preach it in that time.' 'Then,' said Mr. Bennett, 'go into my study and cut it down.' A little before nine the Archdeacon entered the pulpit, produced a pamphlet from which he proceeded to read, and went on till the clock struck eleven. The poor Vicar in his heavy cope on that hot July evening, sitting on a stool without any back, must have suffered terribly. At eleven a lady who was seated just beneath the pulpit, with great consideration and presence of mind, fainted away. The commotion this occasioned caused the Archdeacon to stop and say, 'I have not finished my sermon, but it is printed and you can buy it for a penny to-morrow morning from the booksellers.' The title of the sermon was 'The Tempter's Cup,' and was an analysis of the motives of those who passed the Public Worship Regulation Act, which came into operation on that day.

"We went over to the Vicarage to supper. When the Archdeacon came in he said, 'My dear Vicar, I know I have done very wrong, and I must ask you to forgive me.' Mr. Bennett replied at once, 'I was expecting persecution to begin on the first of July, but I did not expect it to come from my friends; I have had a good many persecutions in my life, but this is the worst!'"

He had a very clear sense, too, himself that it is useless to tire out a congregation. We have seen how very long the services were at S. Paul's, Knightsbridge, in "the forties," and how he endeavoured to somewhat shorten them. One Easter Day, the number intending to communicate being very large, he went up into the pulpit and said, "'The LORD is risen.' This, dear brethren, is my text, and this is my sermon." And with that brief announcement of the Good News he descended from the pulpit.

Close to the Vicarage at Froome there was a

factory whose chimneys were a considerable source of annoyance.

"On March 29, 1856," says the reprint of the *Somerset and Wilts Journal*, "a special jury case was tried at the Somerset Spring Assizes in which the Rev. W. J. E. Bennett was the plantiff and the late Mr. Henry Thompson defendant. The action was brought for the purpose of obtaining redress for an alleged grievance by reason of the smoke that came from the Silk Factory chimneys."

Mr. Linklater, a former Curate of Froome, thus tells the story of the trial—

"At first Mr. Bennett was nowhere. The opposing counsel, who was a schoolfellow at Westminster of the name of Slade, exhibited the designs of the chimneys and appealed to Mr. Bennett to point out the particular chimney that offended him. Mr. Bennett confessed that he did not know which chimney, and opposing counsel turned to the jury and said, 'Gentlemen, I am brought down all the way from London to defend this case, and the plaintiff does not know his own mind—does not know which chimney he objects to.'

"Mr. Bennett all this time was the picture of despair, leaning hopelessly on his umbrella. The judge at this point interfered, exhorting Mr. Bennett to try and collect his faculties and to say to which chimney he objected.

"In the silence of the Court Mr. Bennett answered, 'My lord, it is not the chimney at all that I object to; it's the *smoke*.'"

The verdict was for Mr. Bennett, damages forty shillings. Leave was given to appeal on the ground that the chimneys had stood for twenty-one years, but there is no trace of the appeal having taken place, and what happened about the obnoxious chimneys themselves is not clear.

During the work on the old church of Froome the question of the side altar in one of the chapels arose. The Bishop, in going round the church, said Mr. Bennett must have a faculty, but Mr. Bennett replied that, as the altar was not a new thing but merely the repair and restoration of an old one, there was no need of a faculty. The hint is valuable!

But of the stories recorded of Mr. Bennett none is more interesting than this, which is told, from the Vicar's own narrative, by Mrs. Compton.

"I was standing in the vestry at S. Paul's, Knightsbridge, when a quick military step made me look round, and there was the Duke of Wellington. I bowed, and he said, 'Sir, I am come for orders. I am to give away a bride to-morrow in your church, and would like to understand my duties.' I took a Prayer-book and pointed out the directions as to the place, viz. at the chancel step at first, before the altar afterwards, and his own special position and duty. He drew himself up, and said, 'I thank you, sir, I quite understand.' And the next day he followed my directions like the good soldier that he is. Only those are fit to command who know how to obey."

CHAPTER XIII

PREACHER—CATECHIZER—WRITER

Manuscript sermons.
His curious MSS.
Delivery.
"I have a message to thee."
Sermons at the London Mission, 1869.
Catechizing.
At S. Barnabas'.
His manuscript book of questions.
The same at Froome.
Special catechizings.
Writings, list of.
Absence of allusion to Evolution and to Higher Criticism.
Lighter literature: Mrs. Sidney Lear.
The *Parish Choir*.
The *Theologian*.

It is said by Mr. Wakeling, in his "Oxford Church Movement," that "few could compare with Mr. Bennett as a preacher."

In the days when he commenced his ministry manuscript sermons were the rule and "extempore" ones the exception, at any rate in churches. By the time he finished his ministry it is probable that the opposite was the case. In spite of some advantages which manuscript sermons have, he had so strong a feeling of the advantage of the other method, in the case at least of those to whom it is given, that he said to the writer, "If I had my time over again I should preach extempore from the beginning," and that he could have done so effectively we have seen in the history of the sermon on the Day of Judgment at S. Barnabas'.

But the curious method which he adopted in writing his sermons produced exactly the effect of an unwritten discourse. They were usually written on sheets of paper about the size of foolscap once folded. In this sized sheet there were very few lines, perhaps ten or twelve, of very large hand-writing which could be easily read. A number of peculiar marks above or under each word indicated the exact emphasis and the way in which it was to be pronounced, the whole proving the immense pains which he thought right to bestow on this part of his work,—another lesson for us in days when so many get up into a pulpit but half prepared, and naturally produce no effect. "It 'pays,'" said James Lonsdale to the writer,—"It 'pays' to take pains with your sermons." And undoubtedly those who do so are the most ready when the necessity for a really "extempore" address arises. But of Mr. Bennett's MS. no one saw anything. It is said that he threw down in the pulpit each sheet as delivered, nor did he seem to look at his MS. at all. The black eyes were on you, as you listened, all the time, and every one knows the effect of the preacher's eye on them in arresting and keeping attention.

The result of this method was that you heard every word distinctly, and that every word, as well as the whole sermon, *told*. In addition to this, his grave, serious, impressive manner, "quite Apostolic," as his brother said, had an immense power, and the pause which he sometimes made—expressive silence—

gave time for the point just made to sink into the minds of his hearers.

And to these characteristics it must be added that his style of composition was always clear and lucid, and that the arrangement of the whole sermon was always definite, and therefore easy to be remembered.

A little reminiscence of the writer may here be added. He was with Mr. Arthur Baker, Rector of Addington, Bucks., on an occasion when Mr. Bennett was preaching at S. Alban's, Holborn. Mr. Baker was author of a very thoughtful volume, "Sermons on Holy Joy," and, unless memory deceives, editor of *The Ecclesiastic*. His enthusiasm over Mr. Bennett's sermon was boundless.

One or two of his sermons may be picked out for specimens. There is an admirable one in his "Miscellaneous Sermons," published in 1840, "The Messenger and the Message," on Judges iii. 20, "I have a message from GOD to thee." He first speaks of the messengers, *i.e.* the clergy, of their being *messengers*, and of the character they need, and of their "succession" to those immediately sent by Christ. Then he comes to those to whom the message is sent, of whom he treats thus—

> "If you are a careless, thoughtless man, frivolous in your character, slumbering and sleeping in your journey, 'I have a message from God unto thee.' 'Awake, thou that sleepest, and Christ shall give thee light.'"

In the same way he speaks to the profane and vicious; to the weak; to the Pharisaic; giving to each the message from Bible words; and so, too,

to the repentant sinner and to the sincere lover of God.

The whole passage is most suggestive for a preacher to make use of for a complete sermon, and the text exactly expressed his own feeling in preaching. *He* had a *message* to deliver.

Again, the outline of his addresses at the London Mission of November, 1869, which he printed with a dedication to the Cowley Fathers, is a most admirable one. 1. The Soul. 2. Sin. 3. Repentance. 4. Conversion. 5. Self-examination. 6. Confession. 7. The New Life. 8. The Call. 9. The Answer. 10. The Work. 11. Too late.

They were preached at S. Paul's, Knightsbridge, for which church he was most suitably chosen as preacher.

The last sermon which he wrote, and which he was not destined to deliver, shows as much clearness of thought and as lucid a composition as any previous one. It is called "Children of God," and the point of it is that the *reality* of our being such depends on what our lives and conduct are.

We go on to Mr. Bennett as a catechizer. In this he was perhaps the greatest of his generation, and for this he was always famous, so much so that twice in the Knightsbridge days Prince Albert (as he was then called) came to listen. It seems, indeed, that Mr. Bennett was the originator of "Children's Services," which he began at S. Paul's. But this was merely Evensong, not a special service. "Crowds of people used to come to this service," says Mr. Hampton, and they came from all parts of London.

"Besides the choir there were at least twenty of the ordinary congregation who sat in the front rows of seats. The Church Catechism was the basis of the teaching. Mr. Bennett, after the Second Lesson, stood on the lectern steps and explained the meaning of each sentence. We had to take notes and write out the texts, which had to be learnt by heart for the following Sunday, when each in turn was questioned. Sometimes we had as many as a dozen texts to learn, besides the divisions of the subject, of which we had made notes. I recollect the distress of the ladies if they could not make sufficient notes or get down the texts correctly."

At Froome the same system was carried out. Mr. Bennett had compiled a manuscript book of questions on the Catechism in the S. Barnabas' days, and copies of this book, but slightly improved, were put into the hands of the teachers in the Sunday schools. The next Sunday's work was given out at the end of the teaching, and each teacher had to have his or her class one day in the week and teach the lessons and texts for next Sunday. The children were prepared to answer such questions as he put to them from the book.

"This course of catechizing covered a period of two years," says Dr. Mortimer, "and Mr. Bennett insisted that every child who was confirmed in his parish should have passed through this course. This did not apply to grown-up candidates for Confirmation, but it often told very hardly upon the older children."

But he did not always confine himself to the Catechism. On June 25, in the Octave of 1873, he gave the children a little sermon, by way of question and answer, about Gardens. Each of them had a

little garden,—of course their Soul. In it were sometimes weeds, sometimes flowers. Weeds had a tendency to grow apace and to disperse their seeds around, but so by God's grace had also the flowers. The plants must be watered by God's grace. The weeds must be eradicated.

In the Octave of 1883, as he was not very well, the only part he took was the Children's Service on the Sunday afternoon, when he made them a sermon. His texts were S. Matt. ii. 17 and 1 Sam. iii. 3. He told them of the terrible calamity which had just taken place in Sunderland, where 182 little children had been killed by suffocation through a rush down a narrow staircase. Some of these were old enough to commit sin, and were suddenly taken away. The same thing might happen to some of *them*. Three points were essential in good children. The first was *truth:* like John the Baptist. The next was *obedience:* as in Samuel. The third was *reverence*, which is a mixture of humility and submission. This was exemplified also by the patron saint of their church at the Baptism of Christ. They should show reverence, first to parents and next to others, by good manners. But the second was far, far greater—the reverence towards Almighty God. The foundation of all was Love. During this address he kept up the attention of the children by asking questions and by making them continue the texts which he began to quote.

Again, on S. John the Baptist's Day, 1884, he spoke to the children on the words, "In all thy

ways acknowledge Him, and He shall direct thy paths." His outline was the words of the text, "Acknowledge," "Ways," and "Paths."

"His wish," says Mrs. Compton, "was to have all sorts and conditions of children assembled at these Sunday afternoon catechizings, and no one who ever heard him catechize could forget the power and charm of his method and manner. No hesitation or vagueness of teaching, but the one lesson with its leading points carefully defined and impressed. His eye seemed to take in every child, and each was obliged to attend and listen. His manner with children was most gentle and sweet, but he did not spare reproof or correction if needed, and then the very gentleness of his anger was most impressive."

It remains to give an outline of his many writings. They were some of them ephemeral and only written for "the times." But touching as they do on so many of the controversies of the day they have all of them an historical interest and form an essential part of the literature of the great Movement. He was, indeed, ready with his pen at any crisis in the Church, and "crises" were but too frequent through the greater part of his life. In all his writings there is always a clear arrangement, a lucid style and weighty arguments. Only occasionally there is the sign, in hurried composition, of the busy life of a parish priest. In his attacks he often rises to a powerful invective and sarcasm or a rush of eloquence, or sometimes to a flight of ridicule. And both in arrangement and in style he shows himself a master of the art of rhetoric. His letters to Lord John Russell, his preface to "The Last Sermons at S. Paul's

and S. Barnabas'," his reply to the charge of the Bishop of Bath and Wells, are examples of his power in writing. Many of his pamphlets reached a considerable number of editions. As Mr. Wakeling says, he "put the Tractarian theology into a popular and readable form."

In his works may be, of course, traced that gradual development of his belief, already spoken of, which he shared with the other leaders.

His first venture was the publication of a sermon on the cholera. "The Necessity of Prayer, particularly at the present period of God's Visitation." This was in February, 1832, when he was "Curate of Trinity Church, St. Mary-le-bone." Then came, in 1837, the sermons on the Marriage Act, which reached 2000 copies in a few months.

After this he essayed his more ambitious work on "The Eucharist."

Next came, in 1838 and 1840, his "Sermons on Miscellaneous Subjects," and a sermon in aid of the North London Provident Dispensary, teaching the virtue of thrift.

In 1841 there was the sermon on "The Apathy of the Public in the Responses," which throws so curious a light on the then customs of the rich in church.

The "Guide to the Holy Eucharist" followed in 1841, and in 1842 a series of lecture-sermons on "The Distinctive Errors of Romanism," preached in Portman Chapel.

In 1843 appeared his "Psalter," already described.

In 1843, also, he put forth the first volume of "Letters to my Children." This volume was "On Church Subjects," and in 1850 he issued the second volume which was "On Moral Subjects."

Another series of lecture-sermons was printed in 1845: "The Principles of the Book of Common Prayer."

In 1845 Newman was received into the Church of Rome, and on this event Mr. Bennett printed a sermon "On the Schism of certain Priests and others lately in Communion with the Church." Two years later, as we have seen, he had to bewail the "Apostacy" of his Curate, Mr. Chirol, and put forth a sermon with that title, which went through *eight* editions.

His pastoral letter of 1846, asking for £15,000 to build S. Barnabas', we have already described.

In the same year he pointed out the duty of the State to provide for the education of the children of the poor. The pamphlet, "Crime and Education," was of 118 pages.

The Irish Famine of 1847 called forth a sermon on "Sins of the Church and People." In the First Appendix he defends the celebration of the Holy Communion on days of fasting, and in the Second Appendix points out the utter disregard of the rubrics and of decency in the conduct of the services which was shown by many of the clergy. The sermon was preached on the National Fast Day, March 24, appointed on account of the Famine.

The fresh outbreak of the cholera in 1849 was the cause of a sermon on "God's Judgment in the

Pestilence," and we have narrated the uproar which ensued on his putting forth a form of prayer for use at that time containing prayers for the departed.

The Gorham judgment produced, in 1850, a pamphlet consisting of two sermons on the unending question of Church and State, and the continual encroachments of the State on the province of the Church. At the end are printed protests and petitions to the Queen and the Archbishops, claiming the right of the Church to settle her own doctrine and discipline.

After the consecration of S. Barnabas' he edited, with an introductory preface, the sermons preached at the Octave. His first letter to the Prime Minister, his "Last Sermons at S. Paul's and S. Barnabas'," and his three farewell sermons at his leaving S. Barnabas', have been already described, as well as his farewell letter to his parishioners.

The attacks on his appointment to Froome produced his pastoral letter to the people of Froome and his second letter to Lord John Russell.

During the Crimean War a fund called "The Patriotic Fund," which still exists, was started, and Mr. Bennett preached a sermon on its behalf. The chief point of interest in this is his quotation from a contemporary newspaper of a description of the celebration of the Holy Communion "in a picturesque and lonely spot on the south side of Varna Bay," on "a glorious morning, in view of the Euxine, August the 27th, 1854," before the commencement of the great war.

The origin and history of *The Old Church Porch*,

which lasted from 1854 to 1862, have been given already. Much of it was evidently his own composition. The introduction and the conclusion of the whole are obviously his, and many articles are shown by their contents to be so. From *The Old Church Porch* were reprinted the articles called "The Church's Broken Unity," for which the introduction to the whole magazine forms the introduction also. Of these the last part, on Romanism, is attributed to Mr. Bennett, of the rest he is said to be editor only. The articles on Irvingism, as related in Liddon's "Life of Pusey," were written by Dr. Pusey at the request of the Dowager Duchess of Argyll, who had a sister inclined to Irvingism. She was at the time staying at Froome, and this probably suggested *The Old Church Porch* as the magazine for their publication. From *The Old Church Porch* were also reprinted "Tales for the Holy Seasons," which in advertisements are said to be "by the same author," *i.e.* by Mr. Bennett. After its first issue the whole was reprinted and was sold at the "Church Book Depository, Vicarage, Froome-Selwood." So manifold were the agencies which he kept going under his own eyes.

In 1857 came his book on behalf of Archdeacon Denison's propositions of Faith, and in the same year his second pastoral letter to the people of Froome.

In 1861 he issued his argument for the abolition of Church rates; and in 1866 his history of the old parish church of Froome.

In 1867 he contributed the article to Mr. Orby Shipley's volume, and in 1868 published his letter

to Dr. Pusey, passages from which works formed the ground of his prosecution by the "Church Association."

In 1868, apropos of "Martin *v.* Mackonochie," he wrote "Obedience to the Lesser; Disobedience to the Greater," and in 1869 continued the same attack on the encroachments of the State by reprinting extracts from the "Remains of Richard Hurrell Froude," with a preface, under the title of "State Interference in matters Spiritual."

His sermons at the London Mission of 1869 were also printed, with a dedication to the Cowley Fathers.

Then, in 1871, he reprinted "Neale, on Church Difficulties," with a preface bringing the "difficulties" down to that year.

In 1873 Lord Arthur Hervey, his Bishop, delivered a charge at Froome, as well as elsewhere in his diocese, in which he thought fit to blow a counterblast to the teaching of the Catholic party, and his Lordship was even so rash as to challenge Mr. Bennett, when coming out of his church, to answer him. On this he wrote an examination of the Bishop's arguments and quotations, under the title of "A Defence of the Catholic Faith."

Next came, about 1876, "A Catechism of Devotion," which largely consists of an explanation of the ritual of the Church.

His next publication was the "Letter to the Priests of the English Church," written in the snowstorm of January, 1881.

In 1882 he published a pamphlet, "Foreign

Churches in Relation to the Anglican," an essay towards reunion. We have described the view which he there takes of foreign chaplaincies.

One of his last efforts was a lecture on the French Revolution, delivered, and by request repeated, at Froome in 1885. This was not published, except by its reports in the newspapers.

A great number of his sermons were also published "by request"; generally as separate pamphlets. "Calling upon God" was preached at S. Andrew's, Wells Street, on the Feast of Dedication, 1849; "Christ the Light of the World," on a dark night, probably a London fog, about Christmas, 1849; "The Church the True Interpreter of the Scriptures," an introduction to a Lenten course, at S. Paul's, in 1850; a sermon at the Feast of Dedication, Froome-Selwood, 1854, was printed with one by J. R. Woodford, afterwards Bishop of Ely; at Bordesley he preached, at the reopening of the chapel there, two sermons, "Christian Zeal" and "Holy Places"; at S. George's-in-the-East, on the first anniversary of the opening of the Mission Chapel, Calvert Street, two years before Bishop Tait's licensing of Mr. Allen caused the riots there; in 1865 he preached at the opening of the chapel which preceded S. Mary Magdalene's, Paddington; in 1867 he revisited his beloved creation, S. Barnabas', Pimlico, and preached on "Strangeness in Religion no Sign of its Untruth"; at S. Mary's, Prestbury, in 1869, he spoke on "The Transfiguration"; in the same year a sermon at S. Mary's, Batcombe, was

printed as "A Tract for the Church"; a sermon preached before the synod of the S.S.C. at S. Peter's, London Docks, was printed by their desire in 1873; in 1874 he preached at Bovey Tracey on "The Church not the Parliament"; in 1883 he preached about a question then before Parliament—the permission by the State of incestuous marriage with two sisters in succession; in 1884 he published a sermon preached at Froome on the proposed memorial to Dr. Pusey, and pointed out the immense debt of the English Church to that veteran leader; others of his sermons were published or reprinted in "Last Words," by Mrs. Sidney Lear, who included the last sermon he wrote, but did not preach, "Children of God," which shows his mind and powers of composition as perfect as they had always been.

Another publication was the selection, in 1852 and 1853, of Lent and Advent readings from the Fathers. The first was done in conjunction with Dr. Pusey; possibly the second also.

A point which strikes the biographer as curious is the entire absence, in all his writings, of any allusion to two great controversies of his day. The first is that associated with the name of Darwin and with Evolution. I cannot discover that he ever mentioned this matter in any way, although it was supposed, till wiser counsels prevailed, to shake the foundations of the Faith. Whether it was that he was too cautious to express an opinion on a subject of which he knew nothing, and which he felt he had not the time to master, or whether he was farseeing

enough to perceive that whichever way it might ultimately be decided, it was in no way contradictory to the creed of Christianity, it is clear that he carefully avoided the discussion, in which policy it is much to be wished that a good many others had followed his example. It is, however, not improbable that his friend, Dr. Pusey, told him privately, as he did the rest of the world in his splendid sermon, "Unscience, not Science, opposed to Faith," that there was no real opposition between Evolution and the Faith.

The other omission is the absence of any mention of the so-called "Higher Criticism," unless a very passing allusion to the "heresy of Dr. Colenso" can be considered to be such.

In all such movements as that in which Mr. Bennett was so much engaged, the influence of the lighter style of literature will always be considerable. In the Oxford Movement the stories, allegories, tales, put forth by Gresley, Paget, Munro, and perhaps most of all the beautifully told narratives of Dr. Neale, must have had an immense effect in drawing the minds of the young towards the Catholic view of Christianity; and Mr. Bennett, well aware of the power of such writings, even essayed a religious novel on his own account. But the MS., which still exists, shows that his powers did not lie in that direction, and it never saw the light. The story speedily degenerates into a mere dialogue about doctrine. But what was outside his own scope he was able to encourage in his lifelong friend, Miss Farrer,

afterwards Mrs. Sidney Lear, and from 1848 to 1870 he edited many of her innumerable writings and tales, generally introducing them with a preface. The best known of all these were the "Tales of Kirkbeck, or the Parish in the Fells," of which there were three series; "Tales of a London Parish"; and, in another sphere, "Lives of Fathers of the Church"; and in yet another, a translation of "Fénélon's Counsels for those living in the World."

But even these things did not exhaust his activities, and we have mentioned that he is said to have been one of the originators of the *Parish Choir*, a magazine devoted to Church music, which began in 1846.

It is also said that he was editor of the *Theologian*, a review which began in 1844. It is possible that this may have been the case with regard to the first series, which terminated with the following year, but the way in which his works are reviewed, though attacked as too "Low Church," and in which he is personally praised in the *New* series, 1846, makes it impossible that he could have then been editor, unless he borrowed a leaf from the works of one who pronounced himself "great and good!"

In every one of his numerous writings he is always clear and definite, and both knows and tells what he means, thereby giving another lesson, and no unimportant one, to an age which mistakes vagueness for genius and imagines that paradox is profundity.

CHAPTER XIV

RELATIVES—LAST DAYS—MEMORIALS

Domestic losses.
Father and mother.
Children—
  Mrs. Farrer.
  William Henry Bennett.
  Augusta.
Descendants.
Wife.
Relatives—
  Brother: George Augustus Bennett.
  Brother: Frederick Hamilton Bennett.
    His work at S. John's, Worcester.
    At Freeland.
    Anecdotes of Mr. F. H. Bennett's experience.
    How he was jockeyed out of a living.
  Cousins.
    George Renaud.
    William Renaud.
Last days.
His wishes as to memorials.
Record in the Westminster Prologue, 1886.
"*Cedendo victor.*"

We have thus traced the life of Mr. Bennett through the days of his London work—at first beneath halcyon skies, and then amid storms; through the strenuous work at Froome, and through the many contests of his time—down to the days when he was at last left to do his work undisturbed.

His life had not been free from many domestic losses. His father died, at the age of thirty-seven, while he was a boy at Westminster. His mother married afterwards Thomas Alston Brandreth, C.B., Colonel in the Royal Artillery, who proved a most excellent step-father to her three children. After various commands

at the Cape of Good Hope and elsewhere, Colonel Brandreth retired to Chudleigh, in Devonshire, where he died. Mrs. Brandreth, after his death, lived with her youngest son at Kemerton, in Gloucestershire, and there died, in 1867, at the age of eighty-two.

Mr. Bennett married, as we have said, Mary Concetta Franklin. Their first child, a daughter, died a few months after birth. The second, Georgina, was born while he was Curate of "Oxford Chapel." She married, in 1852, the Rev. F. Farrer, and died in India, leaving two daughters. Her eldest daughter, Miss Mary Farrer, and her granddaughter, Miss Wollaston, are the only surviving descendants of Mr. Bennett.

Mr. Bennett's only son, William Henry, was born in 1834. He was also a Queen's Scholar of Westminster School, distinguishing himself at the election, and would have been also Captain had he not left the school in 1853. He joined the Bengal Infantry, but died in Burmah in 1854.

Another daughter, Augusta, was born in 1836, when Mr. Bennett was Minister of Portman Chapel. She died, unmarried, at Conigar House, Froome, in 1902.

Mrs. Bennett died at Froome Vicarage in 1879, at the age of seventy.

A brief record may be given of the near relatives of Mr. Bennett.

His brother, George Augustus, the next to himself, who was born 1807, became a Captain in the Royal Engineers, thus continuing the older traditions

of his race. He showed, however, the religious tendencies of his family by building a church in New Zealand. It seems to have been a wooden structure, and to have been now pulled down. He died in New Zealand in 1845.

The third of the brothers, Frederick Hamilton, was born in Ireland in 1816, and as he was destined to share in the same kind of troubles as his elder brother, some account of him seems to form part of our story.

He was as a boy at Westminster and Winchester Schools, went, like his brother, to Christ Church, Oxford, and took his M.A. degree in 1843. He was ordained to the curacy of Daventry in 1840. Curiously enough, though so much younger than his brother, he preceded him in the date of his conflicts. In 1842 he became Curate-in-charge of S. John's, Worcester, the Vicar being Canon Wood. There he did his best to improve the work and services of the church, carrying out every part with as great care and attention to detail as his brother in London. But his improvements brought terrible storms about his head. Among other enormities he caused the bells to be rung, and this misdemeanour was resented and denounced by the Protestants as "Tractarian Chimes," just as, in 1850, the bells of S. Barnabas' were denounced. The *Parish Choir* of October, 1849, says—

"Great improvements had lately been made in the performance of Divine Service at S. John's Church. The long-forgotten *plain-song* was restored in all its solemnity in the Evening Service, and the quire was reconstructed so as to chant the canticles and intone the responses, as well as sing

the metrical psalms. Suddenly, however, a most lamentable outbreak of popular prejudice has taken place, and all the advances which had been made in promoting greater decency and solemnity in the worship of the sanctuary have been reversed—the parochial quire and the choral service being entirely swept away."

Nevertheless, all these things were speedily restored again, whatever may have been the cause of their temporary abandonment, for on August 27, 1850,

"the services of the day commenced by the clergy and choristers entering the church in procession chanting the eighty-fourth psalm to the eighth Gregorian tone, second ending. The prayers were intoned by the Rev. E. G. Moon (afterwards Sir Edward Moon, Bt.) assistant curate. The Canticles were chanted from the 'Psalter Noted.' The Communion Service was intoned by the Rev. F. H. Bennett, the service being choral throughout. The choir occupied the new oak stalls which have been erected in the chancel for their use."

But party feeling ran so high in S. John's that Mrs. Bennett lived in a state of terror for her husband's safety. The vestry meetings were almost always an attack on the Curate-in-charge, and the Low Church partisans used to threaten to stone him as he came out of the vestry. On one occasion one of the members (it is believed to have been a churchwarden!) fired a pistol through the vestry window just after the meeting had dispersed, and then told every one that Mr. Bennett had tried to shoot him while he was sitting in the vestry in a chair under the window. The Vicar, with Mr. Bennett and others, went into the vestry and found the bullet in such a position in the wall that, if

the man *had* been sitting in the place he said, the bullet must have gone through him.

Such were the lively events of those "stirring times."

It is an interesting little record, as showing the continuance of Catholic customs in the country, that when there was an outcry about Mr. Bennett teaching the people to bow to the altar, one of his own servants at S. John's Vicarage defended the practice as nothing new, inasmuch as she had been always taught to do so in the village (probably in Herefordshire) where she had been a schoolgirl. This would take us back to about 1830.

For about eight years Mr. F. H. Bennett continued his work at S. John's, supported by many friends, among others by Theodore Galton, who, alas! was driven by some of the untoward events of the time to desert us for the Roman schism.

But at last, just when his brother was being forced to leave his work at S. Barnabas', Mr. F. H. Bennett was driven away from S. John's, in April, 1851.

For many years he lived at Kemerton, in Gloucestershire, and finding no heroic Marchioness of Bath to present *him* to a Froome, many of the best years of his life were lost to the work of the Church.

Kemerton was then, under Archdeacon Thorp, one of the centres of progress, especially in Church music. The church had been rebuilt, from the designs of Carpenter, in the Decorated style, and for many years a full Cathedral service was sung daily with a splendid choir.

But finally, in 1869, Mr. F. H. Bennett became the first Vicar of the little Church of S. Mary's, Freeland, near Oxford. It is an exquisite little building from the designs of Mr. Pearson, the architect of Truro Cathedral. The little hamlet of about 120 people supplied a large choir, and during Mr. Bennett's incumbency full choral service was sung every evening. The opinion had been expressed by a cleric of the neighbourhood that "there was an old-established Wesleyan chapel there, and what more could they want?" Nevertheless, a reformation of manners was much needed, and with the church and its services and the work of Mr. Bennett this reformation came. He died at Freeland in 1873.

Some anecdotes from his clerical experience are amusing. At Worcester there was a delightful old man with a magnificent head of the whitest hair, the admiration of all beholders. One Sunday morning he appeared in church (owing to some error on the part of his hairdresser) with the formerly white hair dyed the most brilliant blue, much disturbing the gravity of the choir and the congregation.

One night, at Freeland, Mr. F. H. Bennett was awakened by a shower of small stones at his window, and he was hastily summoned to minister to a woman who was supposed to be dying. Her chief symptom was that "she was turning quite black all over." But in spite of this alarming symptom she regained her normal colour and recovered.

On one Palm Sunday Mr. F. H. Bennett was astonished, at the hour of Morning Service, to find the

church and churchyard crammed with people. On inquiry it was found that a report had been spread by one of the villagers that Mr. Bennett was to ride up the church on a donkey—a report which has been promulgated and *believed* about other churches and clergymen, with such recklessness are such tales accepted and repeated. Mr. Bennett, going to the porch door, was greeted with cries of "Where's the donkey?" He replied that there were no donkeys there unless it were those who were so easily gulled. On this the concourse, much disappointed, sadly dispersed.

One other fact relating to Mr. F. H. Bennett deserves to be recorded. A church was planned by three benevolent ladies of wealth, who intended Mr. Bennett to be the first incumbent. The plans for the whole institution were submitted to him and arranged according to his suggestions. The founders, however, put the patronage in the hands of the Bishop, as was then supposed to be the proper thing to do, with the understanding that Mr. Bennett was to be appointed. But the Bishop, who trembled at the name of Bennett, overriding the wishes of the founders, gave the living to another person. Both brothers learnt the lesson—not to trust in State-appointed bishops, and the lesson was not forgotten when the same thing might have happened again.

It is also perhaps worth while to record that there were two first cousins of Mr. Bennett's, on his father's side, who were well known. The eldest of these, George Renaud, obtained a scholarship at Corpus, in

its palmiest days, at the age of fifteen, and afterwards became Fellow of the College. His life was largely spent as a tutor, and he had very many distinguished men among his pupils, as Lord Rosebery and Lord Methuen.

The other cousin was William Renaud, the much-respected Rector of S. Thomas', Salisbury, and afterwards of Havant. Their sister married her cousin, Mr. F. H. Bennett.

The father and mother of these three Renauds were persons of the most primitive piety, so devoted to each other that on the death of her husband the wife could not survive him, and died within a week.

> "He died the first; she for a little tried
> To live without him; liked it not and died."

We have now to record the last days of Mr. Bennett, days of peaceful old age.

In 1883, being now seventy-eight years of age, he did not preach at the Octave, but merely took his favourite part of catechizing on the Sunday afternoon.

In 1884, however, he again preached in the Octave, and again in 1885 he preached on the Wednesday in the Octave. "The zeal of Thine house hath eaten me up."

In October, 1885, he gave a lecture at Froome on the French Revolution. His grasp of the subject was complete.

On his eighty-first birthday, November 15, 1885, he was presented with an altar cloth, sanctuary carpet,

and kneelers for the Ladye Chapel. These seem to be the last records.

He wished to have a holiday by the seaside during the summer of 1886, but had to give it up. "The exchequer," he says, "is too empty."

On Saturday, August 14, 1886,

"he was very active, and gave directions at night that only one young servant should stay away from the early service to get his breakfast, saying, 'That will do for me.' Up to the very last he would have very little service done for him; helping himself all his life."

The next day, August 15, the Eighth Sunday after Trinity, he was to have celebrated the Holy Communion, and preached, but was found in the morning lying across his bed struck down with paralysis.

He was still slightly sensible, and asked, "What has happened to me?" but he never recovered complete consciousness. He showed, however, as he was departing, that he heard the words repeated to him by one of his devoted friends, "Though I walk through the valley of the shadow of death I will fear no evil; for Thou art with me." They were the last words he heard on earth. He died on Tuesday, the 17th.

On his desk was found the sermon, published by Mrs. Sidney Lear in "Last Words," entitled "Children of God," which he had written for the day, but which he was not destined to preach.

So passed away, in harness to the last, one who

had been a worker for fifty-eight years in the Church of God.

He had built, adjoining the study at the Vicarage, a small Oratory, and on its altar stood always the little chalice and paten which had been used by Bishop Ken, and which the saintly Bishop bequeathed to the Vicars of Froome "for ever."

In this Oratory the body lay, watched after the solemn manner of the Church; and on the Thursday, according to a wish he had formerly expressed, a celebration of the Holy Communion was held there.

He was buried at Froome, near the grave of Bishop Ken, as he wished, on Saturday, August 21.

Most of the old chiefs of the Movement were gone before him, but some survived him and were at his funeral. Notable among them was the (in every sense) Venerable Archdeacon of Taunton, George Anthony Denison, side by side with whom Mr. Bennett had fought so many a battle. "It was touching," writes Father Benson, who thirty-six years before had walked in the procession at the opening of S. Barnabas', "to see the dear old man wiping away the tears which were ever ready to fall from his eyes, while we were all lamenting the death of the Vicar." There were present, too, many of the leaders of the generation after his own, who owed so much to his work and teaching.

Several hundreds of his fellow-townsmen followed the procession and stood around the grave, departing after taking a last affectionate look upon his coffin; and so concluded those days in Froome which had

begun with something like a riot in opposition to him.

His wish, as expressed in his will, was that the cross which he had erected in the churchyard, and which he had brought from S. Barnabas', should be considered as his monument, and that no other memorial should be erected to his memory. Nevertheless, memorials were built to him both at S. Barnabas' and at S. Paul's, Knightsbridge, and at Froome the churchyard cross was restored in his memory, and the platform round it with the steps leading up to it were enlarged and decorated.

At his old School of Westminster Mr. Bennett was commemorated in the prologue along with his old friend and schoolfellow, Robert Eden, Bishop of Moray and Ross and Primus of the Scottish Church, in December, 1886.

These are the lines which speak of them—

W. J. E. B. "Nec duo tacendi, sanctitatis lumina;
Unus, Crucem praebere non imponere
Doctus, calorem absorpsit hostilem sacris
Taedis amoris, lenis ac fortis pati,
Cedendo victor;
R. E. alter, fax Evangeli,
Cui laeta sensu Numinis serena mens
Vultusque menti concolor, Caledonum
Novos paravit spiritus Ecclesiae;
Portum Salutis victor aureum appulit."

Which have been thus put into English—

W. J. E. B. "Next should we name two lights of piety;
Learned the one, less by his word to enjoin
Than by example to display the Cross;
From foeman's fire he lit the torch of love,
Kind, brave to endure, by yielding conqueror.

R. E. That other soul, true candle of the Faith,
Calm, joyful in sure knowledge of his God,
With mien that matched his mind, to Scotland's Church
Fresh courage did impart; he, victor now,
Has gained the golden quay in realms of Life."

This prologue was chiefly composed by the Rev. H. A. Holden, well known to schoolboys of a past generation as author of "Foliorum Silvulae." He showed a good acquaintance with Mr. Bennett's life if he wrote these lines.

The words "*Cedendo victor*"—"a conqueror by yielding"—refer to the resignation of S. Barnabas'. Mr. Bennett had himself said in the preface to "The Last Sermons at S. Paul's and S. Barnabas'—

"It is no matter that we failed in the immediate issue. That failure brings the ultimate victory. *It is our victory that we failed*, for yielding up our cause to Him who ruleth all things, our victory was that we maintained the Faith. It was our duty to obey the Bishop—in obeying we conquered."

And in his sermon "On the Triumph of Charity," preached November 24, 1850, "in the midst of the disturbances at S. Barnabas' Church," he had put the same thought before the rioters—

"We will passively suffer, but at the same time, we shall passively conquer. Even in your victory over us we shall have the victory over you."

So it has turned out.

"No iconoclast," it was written at the time of his death, "can undo the work which he has done. His voice will remain

—in his work—in the church which he built—in the church which he restored—in the faith which he revived and preached."

And we may well hope and believe that this prophecy will be fulfilled.

APPENDIX

SPECIMENS OF MR. BENNETT'S CATECHETICAL NOTES

I. Introductory—On catechizing itself. | II. On the Sabbath.

MR. BENNETT having been so celebrated for his catechizing, it seems worth while to give specimens of the notes which he distributed to his teachers at S. Barnabas' and at Froome. Two outlines are given. The first shows his ideas as to what catechizing should be. They were copied at Froome from his own notes by Miss Baily, now of The Hall, Glastonbury. All the teachers had copies of these notes, which extended over the whole Catechism of the Prayer-book. They have also been compared with another copy of the notes, made by Sir F. Ouseley in the S. Barnabas' days.

The first is in the original in two parts for two successive Sundays, and as there is consequently, according to his plan, some repetition, I have combined the two parts into one. It is to be remembered that they are notes not for the children but for the teacher, who would be instructed at the teachers' meetings as to using them. I have therefore interpolated a few words in brackets, in order to render the notes intelligible to the general reader. These explanations the teacher would, of course, give orally to the children.

I. INTRODUCTORY—ON CATECHIZING.

What sort of teaching is this?
"Catechizing;" meaning of; "Echo."
Question and answer: "Receive back what has been given."

[To "catechize" is from a Greek verb, "to teach by constant repetition; by question and answer: by the pupil repeating the words of the teacher." The verb is from the same root as the word "echo."]

How many sorts of public teaching are there in the Church?

I. Sermons. II. Catechizing.

I. Sermons: What is a sermon? Define and explain. Oratory, or "making a speech," in order to excite, warn, stimulate, etc.

They involve a certain degree of knowledge: they take things for granted as known.

When are sermons to be preached?

Communion Service: nowhere else commanded. See rubric.

Who would be present? The "Faithful," not the Catechumens.

What difference [should we] observe in sermons at Communion and sermons in evening?

[He gives no answer, but his meaning is no doubt that the first should be addressed to the "Faithful," the second to all; or as his brother, F. H. Bennett, said, "The first to the Church, the second to the world."]

Instances of sermons in the New Testament:—

Our Saviour. Sermon on the Mount.

S. Peter: Acts ii. 14. Day of Pentecost.

S. Peter; Acts iii. 12. To Jews in Temple.

S. Stephen; Acts vii. Before his martyrdom.

S. Paul; Acts xiii. 16. Antioch in Pisidia.

S. Paul; Acts xvii. 22. At Athens.

II. Now, second way of teaching: catechizing.

Rudiments of the Faith. All the little points over and over again.

Trace it in Scripture.

Our LORD in the Temple.

[It is to be remembered that HE was *being catechized* like other Jewish children. The utmost

freedom was allowed to them to ask questions. The false translation, "About My FATHER'S business," and Holman Hunt's picture, give a totally wrong impression. The words mean, "Among the things of My FATHER."]

Christ paid particular attention to children:—

S. Mark x. 13, 14; S. John xxi. 15.

So afterwards the Apostles.

Acts xviii. 25, "instructed"—catechized.

Gal. vi. 6, "taught"—catechized.

1 Cor. xiv. 19, "teach"—catechize.

[In each of these places the Greek verb in the original is "catechize."]

This was followed by the custom of the ancient Church.

People divided into two classes; explain at large.

I. Fideles, or Faithful: Communicants.

II. Catechumens, or people undergoing preparation for baptism.

There were persons specially called "Catechists."

Explain this: illustrations—

Pantænus.

Clement.

Origen.

Athanasius.

[The three first were successively heads of the "Catechetical School of Alexandria." Athanasius was a pupil there.]

Does our Church provide a similar plan?

See address at Baptism:—Creed; Lord's Prayer; Ten Commandments and Church Catechism.

Four parts of catechizing:—

Faith, in Creed.

Duty, in Ten Commandments.

Prayer, in Lord's Prayer.

Sacraments.

When and how are these to be taught? Read rubric at end of Catechism.

Explain "after Second Lesson."

Things to be learned from this rubric:—

1. *Who* is to teach or catechize?
2. *Where* is he to teach?
3. *When* is he to teach?
4. *Whom* is he to teach?

What is the *object* of this teaching?

Hence the duty of all persons to come, etc.

[The "etc." no doubt means to send their children, servants, and the like.]

Instances of religious children:—

Samuel; S. John the Baptist; S. Timothy.

Our Confirmation being over, we begin again; we invite all to be regular, of all ages, if not confirmed.

Do not write down too much, but gain habit of attention.

[With all this we may compare what he says in *The Old Church Porch*, February 1, 1862, where he quotes just such ideas from Hooker, *Eccl. Pol.* v. 18, and Bishop Andrewes, "Pattern of Catechistical Doctrine."]

(SECOND SPECIMEN.)

The Fourth Commandment.

The Sabbath Day. "SABBATH" means rest.

Three considerations:—

I. What the day is, and the reasons for it.

II. The change to the first day of the week.

III. How it is to be kept.

I. Where first commanded: Gen. ii. 2, 3.

Meaning of "rested."

Three reasons given:—

1. To commemorate the works of creation: Gen. ii. 3; Exod. xx. 11.
2. Israelites coming out of Egypt: Deut. v. 15.
3. That all creatures might rest. See Exod. xxiii. 12.

Show the importance of the Institution by reference to Holy Scripture.

The Manna: Exod. xvi. 22–30.

The reward for keeping it: Isa. lviii. 13.
The destiny if not kept: Jer. xvii. 27.
In our Lord's time: S. Luke xiii. 10.
Great preparations made for it by the Jews.
Signal punishment for its violation: Num. xv. 32.

II. The change to the first of the week by Christians, originally the seventh. See Genesis.

The principle: to commemorate God's blessings as before. 1. Creation. 2. Rest. 3. Portion of time.
At first the Creation; but now a greater Creation, a New Creation. 2 Cor. v. 17; Gal. vi. 15; as in the Resurrection.
So not "Sabbath," but "Lord's Day" (Rev. i. 10) or "Sunday." Christ, the "Sun of Righteousness," rose on this day. He is the "Day-spring from on High."

So that the day has its reasons with Christians as with Jews.

No positive command to change it, but inferred from—
S. John xx. 19, 26.
Acts ii. 1.
[Pentecost would come on the same day of the week as the Resurrection.]
Acts xx. 7.
1 Cor. xvi. 2.
And from universal custom.

Therefore Apostolical.

III. How to be kept?

What is *not* to be done; what *is* to be done.

A. What is not to be done.

No work or temporal business either by
Self,
Servants, or
Cattle.
Therefore no travelling, if unnecessary.
No buying and selling.
No pleasure involving the work of others.
So that it forbids
Great parties, etc.,

Newspapers, etc. [of course Sunday ones],
Going to see sights involving work.
But did not the Jews carry this to an extreme?
For instance:—Cornfields, S. Mark ii. 23; healing, S. Luke xiii. 14; xiv. 1–5.
What, then, are the exceptions?
Exceptions:—
Works of piety, as labours of the Clergy.
Works of Charity, visiting the sick, work of physicians, nurses, etc.
Works of necessity, providing necessary food, etc.

B. What *is* to be done? Religious duties.
1. Prayer and public worship.
2. "Breaking of bread": Acts ii. 42, 46; xx. 7.
3. Hearing the Word of God: Acts xx. 7.

But Sunday not to be, like Sabbath, mournful, but rejoicing—a festival: Ps. cxxii. 1.
Difference between Rest and Idleness and Sloth.
Some people stay at home; are idle; do not come to church.
What is this day of rest a type of? The Eternal Sabbath: Heb. iv. 3, 9.

INDEX

Abstemiousness, 238
Actor in Westminster plays, 4
Addresses of remonstrance to Bishop of London, 125, 127
All Souls, Langham Place, 16
Ancestors, 1-3
Anglican chaplaincies abroad, 243
Aschaffenburg, 154
Ashley, Lord, 107

Baptism, ritual of, 201
Bath, Marchioness of, 159
Bennett, Admiral, 2
Bennett, Mrs., 12, 282
Bennett, G. A., 16, 282
Bennett, F. H., 70, 283
Bennett, W. H., 110, 282
Bennett, Augusta, 282
Bennett, Georgina, 282
Benson, Father, 10, 290
Bill of Rights in danger, 167, 173
Bishop, he was to have been a, 30
Bishop of London's Charge (in 1842), 38; (in 1850) 92
Boat, in the Westminster, 5
Brandreth, Col., 158, 281

Carter, of Clewer, Mr., 235, 259
Catechizing, 268 and App.
Celebration of Holy Communion, hour of, 260
Childhood, 3
Chimneys, story of, 262
Chirol, Mr., 44
Cholera, the, 13-16
Climax of riots, 113
Cœlestis Urbs Jerusalem, 79, 149
College of S. Barnabas', 55
—— arrangement of, 58
Committee of One, A, 170
Complainant, an imaginary, 83
Compromise, Mr. Bennett and Archdeacon Denison on, 234
"Consecration and Desecration," 114
Contemporaries at Oxford, 7, 8, 9
"Contests of Schism," 97
Convocation, his view of, 256
Coronations, present at two, 3
Crimean War, 15
Courage, physical and moral, 232
Courts, opinions on—
  Arches, 223
  Privy Council, 223
  History of, 224
  Denison's opinion of, 218
Cross, sign of, 89
Curates at S. Barnabas', 84, 210
—— at Froome, 210, 211

Dale, Mr., imprisonment of, 228
"D. C. L.," 124
Dead, prayers for the, 14, 85
Demeanour, dignity of, 240
Denison, Archdeacon, 10, 29, 216, 223
Determination of character, Mr. Bennett's, 234
Development of "views" in the leaders, 33; in Mr. Bennett, 33-39
Disraeli, 166, 167, 168, 251
Dissent at Froome, 179
Dissenters, his relations with, 244
"Distinctive Errors of Romanism," 35
"Durham Letter," the, 99

Early, grandfather, 3
Eden, Robert, 4, 8, 74, 291
Education, efforts for, 251-256
Eggs, story of the, 241

"Establishment" of the Church, views on the, 245
"Eucharist, The," 34
"Eucharist, Guide to the," 34
"Evangelical," Mr. Bennett never one in their special sense, 33
Expenditure on Church work, 236
Extempore or MS. sermons, question of, 265

Faculties, 264
Farewell sermons at S. Barnabas', 127
Farewell letter to parishioners of S. Barnabas', 212
Finance at S. Barnabas', 211
—— at Froome, 212
"Five separate services," 42
Flanders, 154
Flowers, their popish proclivities, 59
Flunkey, the, 110, 118
Freeland, 286
Froome, offered, 159
——, name of, 178
——, Dissent in, 179
——, population of, 178
Froude, R. Hurrell, 9, 226, 247

Germany, religion in, 155
Gifts to S. Barnabas', 57
—— to Froome, 187
—— on leaving S. Barnabas', 136
Gladstone, 32, 167, 169, 170
Gorham, 10, 65, 87
Gresley, 8, 74
Greville's memoirs, 101, 159
Guildhall nonsense, 102

Hampden, Bishop, 65
Harington, Sir J., 153, 164
Helmore, Mr. Thos., 63, 128
"Histrionics," 4, 92, 108
Horsman, Mr., 163–171
House of Commons, debates on appointment to Froome, 163; Mr. Bennett's comments on them, 171
Humour, sense of, 239
Hymns, 148

Induction to Froome, 161
Inscriptions in streets, 108
Irish Famine, 14
Irish Church, 31
Italian, story of the, 238

Keble, 9, 31, 67
Kemerton, 285
Ken, Bishop, 242; his chalice and paten, 290
Kennaway, C. E., 68
Kissingen, 156
Kitten, story of the, 213

Last services at S. Barnabas', 137
Leaders, the, in 1823–1826, 9
Letter, the first, to Lord J. Russell, 102
Letter, the second, to Lord J. Russell, 171–176
Liberality, in expenditure on church, education, charities, etc., 236, 237
Liberality, in thought, 259
Liddell, Hon. and Rev. R., 139
Lord Mayor's Feast, 101

Manning, Cardinal, 60, 63, 66, 114
Marriage, 12
Marriages, at registry offices, 257
—— of divorced persons, 258
—— of brother- and sister-in-law, 258
Mass, attendance at, when abroad, 164, 175
Mill, Dr., 75
Missions, 209
Mother, Mr. Bennett's, 2
Movement, The Oxford, fortunes of, 1833–1843 .. 30, 37, 82
Movement, The Oxford, "second stage of," 81
MS. of his sermons, 266
Music, Church, in eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, 144

Neale, Dr. J. M., 69, 249
"Nell Gwynn's Court," 47
Nelson, Lord, 63, 160, 260
Newman, Cardinal, 9, 31, 32
"Nothing without the Bishop," 123
Nuremberg, 157

Objector at S. Barnabas', the, 239
Octaves at Froome, 203; the first, 182

"Octave Sermons," 77
Offering of the alms, 196
Offertory, S. Barnabas', 212
——, S. Paul's, 54
——, Froome, 214.
Old Church Porch, The, 207
Oratory at Froome Vicarage, 290
Ordinations, 11
Organization at S. Barnabas', 204
——, at Froome, 206
Our "Grand Old Man," 251
"Our poor Poll," 145
Ouseley, Sir F. A. Gore, Bt., 109, 114, 151
"Oxford Chapel," 12

Paget, Rev. F., 66
Pakington, Sir J., 167
Palm Sunday donkeys, 286
Papal Aggression, the, 90, 97
Parish Choir, the, 144, 147
Patron Saint of Froome Church, 185
Plain-song, 150
Pledge to resign S. Paul's, 89, 91
Politics, 250
"Poor, the committee of the," 127
Portman Chapel, 16
—— ——, improvements there, 193
Portraits of Mr. Bennett, 3, 242
Prayer in times of pestilence, 13, 14
Preacher, as a, 265
"Presentments to a Bishop," 260
Professor, a learned, 165
Processions at S. Barnabas', 1850, 62
Processions at Froome, 202
Prophecies on November 3, 1850, 99
Prosecution of Mr. Bennett, 218
—— of Archdeacon Denison, 216
Protests about resignation of S. Paul's, 133
Protests about appointment to Froome, 161
Psalter, Mr. Bennett's, 147
Publication of letters in *Times*, 95, 96
Public Worship Regulation Act, 227
Punch, 107, 162
Pusey, Dr., 9, 30, 33, 75

Randall, Dr., Dean of Chichester, on Mr. Bennett, 259
Rates, Church, 213
Renaud, the Rev. George, 258, 287
Renaud, the Rev. Canon, 288; on the cholera at Salisbury, 14; their father and mother, 288
Resignation of S. Barnabas', 94, 123, 126, 133
Resignation of S. Barnabas', criticized, 124
Resignation of S. Barnabas', the *Guardian* on, 122
"Respondent," objects to being called a, 231
Restoration of Froome Church, 180–187
Richards, Upton, 74
Riots, Chapter VII
Ritual, at beginning of century, 20
——, history of revival of, 187–204
——, Reasons for, 187
——, Diversity in, 190
——, Bishop of London on, 192, 193
Ritual at S. Barnabas', 195
—— at Froome, 199
—— at Portman Chapel, 193
Roman Catholics in England, 42
Royal Supremacy, 246
Russell, Lord John, 30

S. George's, Hanover Square parish of, 29, 49
S. Paul's, Knightsbridge, parish of, 29
S. Paul's, Knightsbridge, consecration of church, 40
S. Paul's, Knightsbridge, to be "the trial ground," 40
S. Paul's, Knightsbridge, services at, in 1846, 1848..40, 41
S. Barnabas', idea of, 51, 55
——, money for, 53
——, first stone laid, 56
——, cost of, 58
——, consecration of, 61
——, subsequent history of, 139
S. Michael's College, Tenbury, 151
Separation of Church and State, 245–250
Sermons, specimens of, 267
——, a very short one, 262

Sermons, two very long ones, 261
——, last at S. Barnabas', 71, 114
——, length of, in 1850..78
——, one which quieted mob, 113
Servants at church, 24
Sewell, Rev. W., 66
Sisterhoods, 92
Skinner, Mr., 139, 141
Slums of Pimlico, 46
Snowstorm, letter in the great, 229
"Soft Words," 42
Spessart, the, 155
Spolia opima, 138
State of churches, 17
—— services, 19
—— Church music, 144
Stelvio Pass, 158
Sternhold and Hopkins, 146
Student of Christ Church, Oxford, 7
Successors at S. Barnabas', 143
Sunday desecration, 23, 298

Tate and Brady, 146, 148
Temper, 3, 248
"Tractarian Chimes," 283
"Tracts for the Times," the, 31, 32
"Tract Ninety," 32
"Triumph of Charity, The," 111
"Turkey," the story of the, 40

Usher at Westminster School, 11

Vestments, 194, 196, 201
Via Crucis, 186

Ward's "Ideal of a Christian Church," 33
Wellington, Duke of, 264
Westminster School, 3
—— Play, Prologue of, 4, 291
Westerton *v.* Liddell, 142
Wilberforce, S., Bishop of Oxford, 68
Wilberforce, H., 68
Worcester, S. John's, 283
Writings, list of, 271–280

Yorke, Mr., in House of Commons, 168

THE END

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